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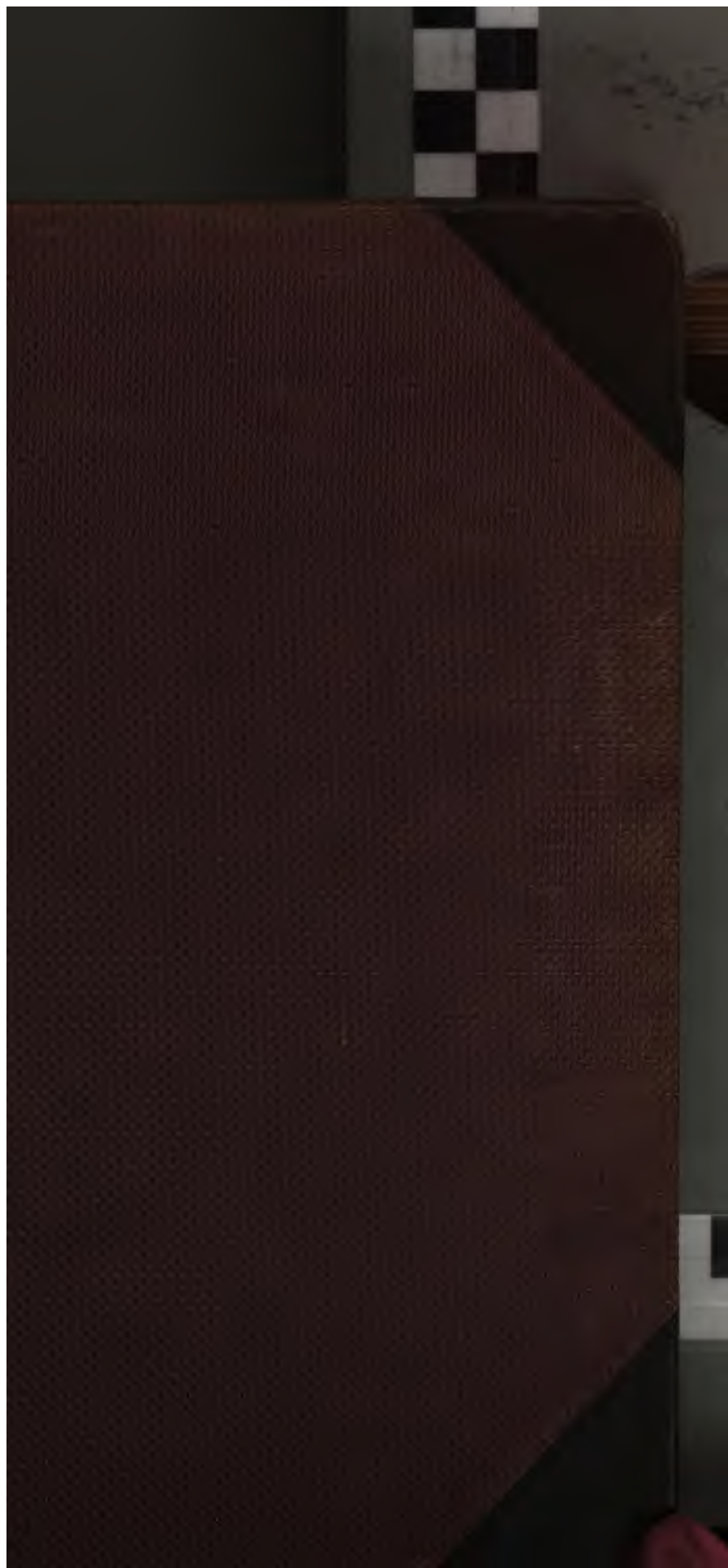
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THE

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VOLUME XL.

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*'No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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ART. I.—*History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, by James Fergusson, F.R.S., M.R.A.S. London: John Murray, 1862.

MR. Fergusson has shown very clearly, if not for the first time, that architecture is not so much a pure art as an application of art to useful purposes, and that the great mistake of the modern styles arises from the notion that architecture is as purely art as painting or sculpture. To those who know what Anglo-Indian architecture is, it may seem foolish to imagine that a too exclusive attention to the artistic qualities should have had the effect of destroying all grace and beauty: but there can be little doubt that, if the Military Engineers who have designed our churches and public buildings had considered more exclusively the purposes for which those buildings were intended, they would have produced results more worthy of their talents.

The argument has been often used with reference to buildings in England, but it may be applied with at least ten-fold force to Anglo-Indian architecture. Men of the greatest taste, and of Engineering talent which would have fitted them for producing works worthy to be compared with London Bridge, have, when called upon to design a church for 200 people, *invented* buildings which bear a much greater resemblance to ornamented beer-chests than to the mediæval churches which they really strove to imitate; nor is the cause of this so much to be found in deficient study of the originals,—though in that respect, as was natural in India, they were lamentably deficient,—but in the fact that they only attempted a superficial or exterior imitation, whereas the only true architecture is founded on a careful study of the requirements of edifices, supplemented by a knowledge of the principles of beauty. We do not mean to under-estimate the effects of the Gothic revival in England, or of the second-hand



Gothic revival out here. There are some, we believe, who have so far entered into the Gothic architectural feeling as to be able to plan true buildings in that style, and it has been satisfactorily shown that, for English purposes at least, the Gothic style is not very far from what is required both for Ecclesiastical and secular buildings, but even those who have done most to prove the applicability of that style to our houses, churches, and public buildings have, as it appears to us, begun at the wrong end. It would have been more satisfactory if it had been found that an honest and independent attempt to plan useful buildings on æsthetic principles had resulted in the establishment of a style resembling the Gothic, because by proceeding on this principle, all would have been convinced that nothing which could militate against good taste or convenience had been introduced merely, because it was an essential or seemingly essential part of the style of architecture which the designer loved.

Nor can the public in our estimation be considered wrong in such a suspicion. It is our belief that for half the features of a modern Gothic building, the designer can give no better reason than that it is Gothic. He cannot say that they are beautiful, for some are manifestly ugly, nor useful, for he cannot tell their use. His best argument is that they *must have been* useful, because the Gothic in its prime was a natural style of architecture into which nothing could by any possibility have been admitted which was not required either for beauty or use.

The educated and refined modern cannot be inferior in æsthetic capacities to his ancestors. Nay, we feel convinced that the beauties of Gothic architecture are more deeply and even more widely appreciated now than in the days in which it flourished. But still it can no longer be denied that a correct taste in these and similar subjects is more rare than formerly. Taste does not now come so naturally to the uneducated. The rustic of Edward the Third's time would have duly admired a touch of plainness which would only be despised by the modern ignoramus. Yet this does not prove that the common people of England possess less power of acquiring taste now than formerly; it only shows that a correct taste is now *more difficult to acquire*. Questions of this kind have become much more complicated from the variety of kinds which come under our consideration. Different styles of beauty founded on different principles perplex our judgment, a wider range of view makes us less dogmatic. The beauty of the Egyptian portico, the Indian shrine, the Greek temple, the Gothic cathedral are all different, and baffle comparison, and it is no wonder that the human mind, in which

novelty is a necessary element of admiration, should be distracted amidst such a world of riches. The man who has looked upon a hundred styles is much more unfavourably circumstanced as regards the formation of a taste than the man who judges between different specimens of one style, yet his opinion when formed is an evidence of much more intellectual power, and the uncertainties of modern taste are as much to be preferred to the certainty of ancient taste, as the doubts of the modern educated Hindoo to the complaisant dogmas of a village priest.

Further, it cannot be doubted that the wide range of our subjects of study excludes many who would in another and more ignorant age have been successful workers. Superficiality of study is the natural result of a too enlarged field, and men of ordinary minds are contented to follow any prophet who will give an opinion, when they see that the best and wisest are, though it be but temporarily, bewildered. Thus it is that the sceptic in religion is found a thorough believer in spirit-rapping. It is, however, among the compound arts, as architecture, pottery, and furniture-making, that this inability to grasp the truth under difficulties is chiefly manifested. The pure artist has a simpler *beau idéal* to contemplate. His height of excellence is one for all the world. The consequence is that, though modern discovery and modern thought have placed stumbling-blocks even in the way of the painter and sculptor, and thrown them back in despair on nature pure and simple, the retrogression of fine art has never equalled that of compound art. The sculptor and painter have never been or felt themselves such utter failures, as architects must in their hearts acknowledge themselves to be. The Medicean Venus would not be out of place even in the Capitol at Washington, but the Parthenon is absurd anywhere except on the Acropolis.

Mr. Fergusson attributes the decline of architecture to the fact that people now-a-days treat and study it as a fine art, whereas wherever it has flourished, it has been treated as a useful art only. We think that this is true with a modification. In our opinion it is more true to say (though even this does not embrace the whole truth) that the reason why it has declined, both amongst professional architects and amateurs, amongst people of the greatest æsthetic capabilities as well as amongst people who have scarcely received a liberal education, is because the art is compounded of two separate principles which are seldom studied together. Whilst one set of architects confines itself to bare utility, the other refuses to acknowledge any object but *simple beauty*. No honest attempt is made to combine the two. We do not say that in England such attempts



have never been made; but certainly the movement has not extended to India. But into the causes of the decline of architecture, we shall enter more deeply further on.

Let us try to find out some of the principal faults in an Indian Gothic church of the kind that abounds throughout Lower Bengal, and of which every reader must have seen examples. Let us seek for them not as Gothic purists, not even as people who have ever seen a real Gothic church and learnt to admire its picturesque outline and its beautiful detail. Let us come simply as people who are to pay for a large building in which we intend to sit, and at which we and every one will be compelled to look; a building which we are anxious should be beautiful and at the same time convenient, which should be *very* lasting without being ruinously expensive. Let us in fact view it merely in an enlightened economic spirit, such as should animate the Government or the public when it undertakes works of this kind.

The first fault is that all the roofing of the structure is composed of wood, the most destructible of materials in this country. But in the verandahs and the porch the wood is often the only support to a considerable quantity of superimposed brick-work. We have most of us seen the beams bending under its weight, the masonry above cracked and displaced, and the roofs leaking. Sometimes the beam gives way altogether and seriously weakens and shakes all contiguous parts. It is almost impossible to change a beam in such a position without risk of damaging the masonry resting on it,—which is not even constructed in the form of a flat arch to relieve the frail support. Such a structure is, economically speaking, the very worst possible;—where wood and masonry are to be combined, the latter should clearly be quite independent of the former. A brick tower with a wooden steeple is a good and often ornamental structure, but what should we say to a wooden tower with a brick spire? Even in St. Paul's, where Sir Christopher Wren sacrificed every thing (except beauty of outward form) to lightness, and the large dome is made of wood, whilst the small cupola above is of stone, a brick cone within the wood-work forms the real though concealed support of the latter; and as if ashamed of such expedients he has carefully concealed the wood. Yet in Calcutta not only our private houses, but Government buildings, the palace of the Viceroy, even the churches, are all so constructed, that portions of the walls rest on a foundation which vibrates with every salute from Fort William, which warps, expands, or contracts with every change of temperature, which is always, if we may use *an expression*, in a state of gradual giving-way. It is

absolutely impossible that brickwork, resting on such a base, should remain sound for a day. As moreover wood is more perishable than brick, such a method of construction is, in effect, to reduce the more permanent and expensive material to the level (as regards durability) of the less. It would be far better and cheaper to build with wood alone; while as regards beauty, it is absolutely impossible that a mass of cracked brick wall, resting on a bellying plank, should be beautiful, or even neat. It is slovenly, mean, and unscientific.

There is one building, and only one building, we imagine, in the world, of any architectural celebrity, which has been built partly on a method of construction resembling this, and though that building is the youngest of three all resembling each other except in this one respect, it is the only one which has become a ruin. We refer to the Temple of the Sun at Kanarak, commonly called the Black Pagoda. Its ruins form one of the most impressive sights in India; Egyptian in their contour and magnitude, Hindoo in richness of detail, they haunt the imagination of every one who beholds them. So vast are they, and apparently so solid, that their present condition is usually attributed to an earthquake. In all probability, however, it was merely owing to the faulty construction of the edifice. The builder, intent on making a larger structure than the rival temples at Pooree and Bhobaneswar, and, unacquainted with or rejecting the arch, was unable to find stones large enough for the flat interior ceiling which underlies the hollow pyramidal outer roof of the temple. He therefore stretched long iron bars across, and on these placed the ceiling of huge and heavy stones. These iron bars thirty feet long must, by their expansion and contraction, have worked their sockets loose, probably cracking the whole building. At last they fell with their ponderous load, bringing down three quarters of the temple at the same time.

Langora, (the builder), however, used iron in such masses as made it, in his day, a not ignoble substitute for stone. He would have despised wood.

It is to be hoped that the superposition of masonry on wood-work in public buildings will not any longer hold its ground in India. Even in private buildings in which the only economical condition attended to is mere cheapness of first cost, it is essential for the safety of the occupants that the weight on the beams should be lessened as much as possible by relieving arches. These might be of any pitch, and would in the hands of a man of taste and architectural feeling, become a pleasing feature in a design, perhaps the origin of a new style of Indian domestic architecture.



The construction of the roof is a shade better than that of the verandah. The ordinary flat Indian roofs under certain circumstances are not without their advantages. Where, for instance, it is the custom of the occupants of a house to spend the evening on its roof, as it is in the North-West, and even amongst natives and Eurasians in Bengal, a flat roof is convenient, and no flat roof is so easily constructed as with beams of wood. But consider their defects. They always need repairs; they sometimes fall down on the heads of the unhappy occupants. They are neither safe, watertight, durable, nor beautiful. Their simplicity is their only recommendation, and in reality that simplicity is only barbarous. It is quite unworthy of a scientific nation. It is perhaps architecture, but it is of a rude and uncultivated kind. Yet we not only allow our houses to be built in this manner to our constant inconvenience, but actually allow its introduction into monumental edifices.

The manner in which the construction of the roof of a large Indian church or public building is effected, is indeed almost childish in its utter rejection of skill or knowledge. In the largest of the Calcutta churches, the supports of the roof are the same simple beams laid from wall to wall which are to be found in every cook-room, and the use of tie and truss would probably have been rejected as undignified by the architect, though they would have enabled him to widen his church and give it a far stronger and more durable covering. By a good arrangement of subordinate parts a pleasing effect could doubtless have been produced. It is true that in Calcutta the churches are chiefly in the Grecian style, and though no one knows how Greek temples were roofed, the architects probably thought that flatness was a necessary character; but in the Mofussil, in so-called Gothic churches, what are we to say of a horizontal roof without a break in the monotony of the beams, except that it is as opposed to the spirit of the style, as it is expensive; that it is originally liable to destruction, intrinsically ugly, and inconvenient where space is required?

The breadth of Indian churches built on this plan is limited by the length of procurable beams. They are consequently, for the most part, inconveniently long and narrow.

The most important part then of the structure of Indian public buildings is essentially of a bad nature, and we are inclined to believe that, until the mode of constructing and supporting roofs is changed, no satisfactory public buildings will be produced. In architecture not of a monumental character, much instruction will probably be obtained from the constructions for railway purposes now being carried on all over the country.

As regards for instance the legitimate use of iron in the various forms of which it is susceptible, the use of many kinds of tiling, the composition of bricks, and the best modes of protecting them from the influences of the climate, many useful hints may be picked up for the manifest and considerable improvement of our domestic buildings. But for buildings which are designed as monuments, for churches, town halls, courts of law, public hospitals, palaces, and memorial halls, no mere engineering works can serve as examples. On the contrary their exclusive study is likely to mislead. For as we asserted at the beginning, it is from the separate contemplation of the useful and of the beautiful in architecture, which has rendered it difficult to combine the two qualities, so that neither shall be sacrificed in the least degree to the other, that modern architecture has so grievously suffered.

As regards the advance of Anglo-Indian architecture, perhaps the most disheartening circumstance is the complete or almost complete neglect to study the remains of Hindoo and Mahomedan works in India,—the neglect, we mean, to study them from an architectural point of view. These works are acknowledged by all to be most beautiful. They are sketched and sketched again by enthusiastic artists. Their loveliness, unlike the more recondite charms of Greek buildings, is appreciated by the most uncultivated as well as the most refined. As studies for an artist, every painter acknowledges their worth, yet architects treat them generally with profound contempt as studies of building. Until Fergusson extolled the construction of the dome of the tomb of Mahomed at Bijapur above all the domes of Christendom, no one ever thought about the matter. Nor even since that time do we suppose that any architect has ever thought it worth his while to go and see it, or even obtain its measurements. Of the causes of this carelessness, it is unnecessary to speak; let it be sufficient to say that an indifference to *construction* has pervaded all our study of foreign styles of architecture, however rich in this respect.

If then it be granted that the Anglo-Indian style of roofing is faulty, and if it be averred in excuse that it is difficult to find out any other adapted to the climate; that English methods notoriously fail, and that the best Engineers are at their wit's end; how extraordinary must be the prejudice which refuses to search through the length and breadth of India for examples of a better style. If our own style were all that we could desire, graceful and elegant, yet not to be cavilled at by the most practical Engineer for inherent weakness, unnecessary weight, waste of mechanical power, or need of constant repair;



we might yet, for mere variety's sake, for the sake of engrafting one new beauty on our almost perfect style, borrow here and there an idea from the erections of the former dynasty. But can we really with complaisance spread our dreary flats of mud and tiles near the marble splendours of Shah Jehan? Can we, in despair for a roof, as we are, afford to despise the roofs of Bijapur?

The buildings of the Mahomedans in India are precisely of the kind of which we so much need examples. They are most of them public buildings built for ornament as well as use. They are necessarily adapted to the climate, for they are the productions of artists who have known no other, and who were unbiassed by the sight of buildings in any Northern style. They are of immense solidity and strength, and of singular beauty. Their study in India, then, seems to be imperatively required from all who wish to improve modern Anglo-Indian architecture, but it must be understood that this study should not be of the form alone or chiefly. It is the anatomy of the construction and the principles of its decoration from which we have especially to learn, and which we should diligently study till they are completely mastered. This is no easy task. Many will fail before they accomplish it. It has hardly as yet been begun.

It is, however, the only kind of study from which the slightest good can be expected. It is no new thing to have studied more or less superficially the forms of Mussulman architecture and decoration. The Ochterlony Monument, the little kiosks at the corners of the tank on the Maidan, are familiar examples of what can be achieved in this way. They are only fit to be laughed at, yet the people who built them were probably far above the average in taste. Captivated by some Mahomedan building, or perhaps by the forms of the style generally, they did their best to reproduce it. But this method is always unsuccessful in art, as in science. It is principles and not appearances that must be grasped, and as those principles are of universal applicability, they will never lead us into incongruity.

The points, then, to which the student should direct his attention, are not so much the peculiar curve of a dome or arch or the elegant turn of a moulding, the rich arabesque of a window, or the light grace of a pendentive. These things may furnish him with hints, perhaps, indeed, inspire him with lines and combinations of lines of beauty such as he never dreamt of before. But they can none of them bear transfer, as they are, without incongruity. They must all be, as it were, absorbed and re-coined by the architect who wishes to make good use of them. At first especially the forms should be avoided. The student should restrain himself, and be ascetic in respect of

them; his eye refusing to be captivated by outward appearances must look through them to the generalities beyond,—the method of employing colour in the blaze of an Indian sun, or in the gloom of Indian shade;—the admission of light, in other words, the great subject of window apertures;—its exclusion, or the question of shutters;—the protection of the edifice from wind and rain, from heat and cold;—the most effective points of ornament and plainness under the conditions of the climate;—these are some of the points which it would be most useful for us to know, and about which we are most lamentably ignorant. These are points moreover which the Mahomedan architects knew perfectly, and were able to treat in the most ornamental and elegant manner conceivable.

But it is not merely in India that instruction in Anglo-Indian architecture is to be obtained. In all countries where the climate more or less resembles India, hints may be obtained, and even principles struck out. The Egyptian and Hindoo architectures are of the least use to us, because their principles of construction are so primitive, and consequently so wasteful and expensive, that we, as a scientific and civilized nation, could never adopt any of them with propriety. But even from these, as regards decoration merely, immense results might be gained from careful and conscientious study.

But it is in Italy and Spain that the architect who is desirous of adapting the Gothic style to India, may perhaps find most easily what is required for his purpose, whether for public or private buildings. To those who have seen the arcades of Italy, so exactly what our verandahs should be but are not, it seems wonderful that such a feature has not found its way here, or rather that, having once been *introduced* by the Mahomedans, it should subsequently have been *rejected* by the English.

As regards the Gothic of England, though it has departed farther from a Southern type, it still possesses many features by no means to be rejected in a hot climate. It is, however, strange that in Indian imitations none of these peculiar features are ever admitted; whilst the parts which could best be dispensed with—the large windows, for instance,—are considered essential. One obvious cause of failure arises from the taking for examples buildings of the later and more florid styles. When the structure is to be plain, as most Indian churches necessarily must be, it is evident that the florid model will lose more in copying than the unornamented one.

The cause of the decline of architecture in modern times is a problem for the solution of which many different theories have been propounded. It cannot be doubted that it is connected



with that decline of taste which the most civilized nations generally are to their shame compelled to acknowledge. It is only lately that it has been suspected that this decline in taste is in any way connected with deficient study. The fact that the simpler and more barbarous nations display a purity in matters of taste, quite unknown amongst ourselves, prevented what is undoubtedly the truth from being recognised. But in fact, it is the vast variety and diversity given to art by the genius of modern civilization which has been the cause of the failure. Whilst the range of study has almost infinitely increased, men have been content to follow a few rules handed down them from an age of fewer requirements, and when these have failed, or are found not to apply, were fain to give up the attempt in despair. Worse than this, seeing that, with their present knowledge or want of knowledge of principles, it was quite impossible to impart beauty to the works of the age (we are not speaking of pure art), these were left altogether unadorned, and with regard to those works in which the element of adornment is absolutely essential, an attempt was made to produce them all in such strict imitation of ancient models, that the old canons and rules of taste might apply to them in their integrity.

Had men but perceived that the scope of the mixed arts must be continually increasing with advancement; and that as it increased it behoved them to dig deeper and deeper for principles, we should not have to complain of that vast interval between the beautiful and the useful, which it now seems so difficult to bridge over.

For us now at any rate there is only one course; deep and persevering study, directed to the very roots of the matter, is the only means of making up for the idleness or folly of our ancestors. The educated and refined of a former day, astonished and somewhat disgusted, with the sudden steps by which the useful arts were then progressing, feeling no sympathy for that progress, refused or neglected to co-operate. We who see with clearer eyes should not content ourselves with regretting their blindness, but do our best to search into the principles of beauty and the modes of applying them. But we may be sure that we shall require to do this, work quite as hard, and genius quite as brilliant, as have been expended in the material improvements of the last two centuries. There must be a Newton, Watt, Stephenson of architecture, as well as thousands of assisting workers before the æsthetic and the merely useful will go hand in hand.

ART. II.—*The Competition System and the Indian Civil Service.*

When the Government of India, in 1861, called for reports on the conduct and character of Competition Civilians, there was a general feeling that the enquiry was made before the time was ripe, and before any decisive answer could be given. This was reasonable enough, for the oldest Competitioners had then only seen four years of service, and the disturbances of 1857-58 had in most cases interrupted the regularity of their work. But the same objection was less reasonably urged last year against Sir Charles Trevelyan's attempt to review the results of the system, and to supply a remedy where it might be found to have failed. Even now discussion of the matter is generally deprecated; and on this subject, so important to the future welfare of the country, the Government has had less opportunity of learning how public opinion stands, and what is to be said for and against it, than on almost any other of the great changes of system and procedure which came in with the Mutiny. We think this reticence is as mistaken now as it formerly was reasonable. So far as it arises from a dislike of canvassing the merits of individuals, and pitting class against class, it is creditable to the Indian Press; but if a system which has been in force for eight years is not ripe for discussion, when will it come to maturity? The weightiest argument against Mr. Gladstone's admirable Insurance Bill has been, that if any fault exists in a scheme which looks so well, we cannot find it out till about twenty years have passed. It would be a grave objection to any system of selecting Government servants if it were held that criticism was premature till an equal period had elapsed. In every violent change the presumption is that some errors of detail have been committed which further experience will remove. But if experience does not begin to assume a definite form for fifteen or twenty years, those errors are in danger of being perpetuated. This is the position to which we are reduced by the argument that the Competition system cannot be fairly judged till its men rise to the higher posts, of Magistrates and Commissioners. We allow that faults in the system will be brought into stronger relief than they can be now; but we think a tolerably clear conclusion can be attained *at present*. Under-Secretaries, Joint Magistrates, Assistant Commissioners, have opportunities of showing their



capacities and idiosyncrasies as well as officials higher in rank ; and if they could be fairly and exhaustively compared against their equals from Haileybury, it should be easy now to strike the balance, and to foretell how the comparison would run if the new men had had time to rise to the highest posts.

To make such a comparison is no easy matter even for a Government which has the fullest information before it, and it is impossible for a single writer to pretend to exhaust the subject. A true result can only be obtained by a large induction from individual cases, and in a country so vast as India, few men can boast a personal acquaintance wide enough to enable them to lay down a general opinion respecting a class. Official reports on such a matter are too much constrained by the fear of publication and of giving offence, to be thoroughly trustworthy. It is on this account that we should welcome a brisker discussion of the subject, and that not so much in the Presidency newspapers as in those of the Mofussil, which, if the literary excellence they attain to is not very high, are able to afford much useful information.

Before the first Competition Civilian landed in India, the system was supported by this Review,\* and we have not seen any reason to withdraw from the position we then took up. Since that time both the system and the men have been criticised, sometimes bitterly, sometimes in a fair and candid spirit, and changes of detail have been proposed by one of the most hearty and influential supporters of the Competition principle, Sir Charles Trevelyan. We propose in this article to answer such of the criticisms as seem to require an answer, and to discuss the reforms and changes which have been suggested.

The official duties of a Civilian bringing him chiefly in contact with natives, while his private and personal life is known chiefly to Europeans, it is natural that unfavourable criticisms should touch more on his personal qualities than on the way he performs his official functions. Strictly speaking, his duties are too various and many-sided for this distinction to be tenable, but we use it as expressing roughly a division of interests, the broad difference between which is obvious enough, although the line of demarcation may be hard to draw. The question in the one case is, How does he work ? Are his decisions sound, his reports concise and full, his enquiries exhaustive ? Does he familiarise himself with native dialects, habits, and ways of thinking ?

In the second case it is, Has he been trained physically as well as mentally ? Can he shoot and ride ?

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\* *Calcutta Review*, No. LIV. Dec. 1856, p. 356.

Taking up the question of official duties first, we come on two very common objections which are singularly inconsistent with each other. One is that the Competition system does not produce men of first-class intellect and education; the other is that first-class literary intellect, which is the only kind that can be tested by examinations, would be thrown away in the performance of the duties of an ordinary official. One is tempted to confront these objectors, and request them to neutralise each other.

The weak point in these criticisms is the ambiguity of the word 'first-class.' In one sense you can only speak of a man who has gained a first-class at Oxford or Cambridge as a first-class man, and in this sense there are probably only three or four first-class men among Competitioners, or including Dublin, five or six. But it was a well-known saying of a great Classical Tutor at Cambridge, that it required a first-rate classic to get a second class; and in this application of the word there are certainly a large number of first-class men who have come out by competition. Even if we accept literally the caustic statement of the *Saturday Review* that the University men who come out are mostly third-class men, still, to obtain a third class requires, if not a first rate, certainly a very good education, far better than Haileybury used to supply. Now in the strictest sense of the word, no one can possibly have expected that eighty first-class men would be found every year to fill the eighty vacancies, simply because all the first-class men of the Universities put together would not supply the number; and if they did come out, there might perhaps not be found work sufficiently delicate for such a quantity of the finest of tools. But in the ordinary acceptance of the term we maintain that a very large proportion of Competition men have received a first-class education, and are men of more than ordinary ability. More than this no reasonable person can have expected.

But, granting the education and ability, our objector meets us with '*cui bono?*' What has a proficiency in stringing together 'Greek Iambics, or flooring abstruse problems in Mathematics, 'to do with the qualities that make a good Magistrate and 'Judge'? This old familiar argument can only be answered by saying that to pass a good examination in the studies which form the education of an ordinary English gentleman is a proof of having fair ability, good mental training, and a disposition to improve oneself; that a man who has not wasted his time at School or College is not likely to be an idle, useless servant of the Crown, and that therefore such an examination supplies a good test as to the nature of the raw material which has to be



worked up into an Indian Civilian. There is of course the danger of cramming, but, as we shall show presently, this can be effectually met by the choice of subjects.

But, the objection continues, 'the tools are too fine for the work: the duties of an Indian official are so simple that any raw material will do for the article: even Haileybury was too good for the work, and it can be done just as well by young Subalterns from the Staff Corps or Locals who left England at sixteen, and never had any education at all to speak of.' No one who had at all a close acquaintance with the duties of a Civil Officer would endorse this view. Even under the old *régime*, when work was rougher, less scientifically done, and more confined to a simple routine, the enormous interests entrusted to each officer were important enough to demand the best training and intellect that England could provide. But now the enlarged views which Government has begun to take of its duties and responsibilities to the country have greatly increased the labours of a Magistrate. Besides his regular work in Cutcherry innumerable offices are thrust upon him. He is responsible for the construction of roads and bridges to carry the local traffic, and he is bound to know the exact quantity, value, and direction of that traffic; he is head school-master, head sheep-farmer, head cotton-grower to the district; he is its Acclimatisation Society; he has to attempt to improve the agricultural implements, the breed of cattle and horses, and the machinery; he has to study its history, its races, its geology, its antiquities and dialect. No knowledge can possibly come amiss to him; book-learning and handicraft alike find their uses; enthusiastic men have even gone to England to learn the art of iron-smelting, and have taught the natives of their district with their own hands every detail of the work. To take up one of these points alone is easy enough; to do something in all or nearly all of them, requires an amount of system and method, a power of concentration, a rapidity of receptiveness, a versatility and agility of mind, which only the highest education can give. It needs a man to be a mental athlete, with all his intellectual muscles trained and developed to the very highest pitch of excellence; and no first-class man who might pass the Competition Examination could be too good for that.

But, however important these plans of improvement may be (and in some provinces they seem likely to eclipse the weightier matters of the law) they are secondary to the great duty of the Civil Officer, the administration of Justice. And here is one clear benefit obtained from the education required to pass the *Competitive Examination*, for even if the average official is not

better than before, there ought to be no danger of such laughable mistakes and gross miscarriages of justice as did occasionally occur. We believe that the general discredit into which Mofussil Law has fallen, arises less from the quality of the average decisions, which were good enough, but from a few ridiculous and transparent errors, which have caused universal mistrust, every suitor feeling that it is possible that his case might come to be decided by that Judge, or one like him. The recurrence of such things the Competition system ought to make impossible.- In other words it ought to secure us, and we believe it has secured us, from incapables.

There is another way, though not directly connected with their official duties, in which a first rate education tells advantageously. The Civil Service, as a body, with a few brilliant exceptions, has not done its duty to Europe in opening up the stores of Oriental literature, history, and science. What results have been obtained have been chiefly under the guidance of some eminent men, such as Sir W. Jones, and James Prinsep, who had the power to infuse some of their enthusiasm into their friends, and thus became the centres of a body of students by whom great things were done. The direction of the studies of almost all the brilliant oriental *savans* whom the Civil Service has produced, such as Mr. H. T. Colebrook, Sir W. Macnaghten, Sir. H. M. Elliot, and the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, may be directly traced to the influence of these men. But these fires soon burnt out, and at present we doubt if there are ten Civilians who know Sanscrit, or five who know Arabic, in the Service. This is a defect which we may reasonably look to have remedied by some of the trained scholars now sent out. It is a duty which the Civil Service owes not only to European *savans*, but to themselves. No intellectual man can help wishing to study the history of the ancient civilization in the midst of which he finds himself. No zealous officer can fail to seize every new point of sympathy between himself and the native population. There are few things they prize more highly than an acquaintance with their favourite poets, their domestic habits, their mythical genealogies and religious belief, because these things show an interest in themselves and in what they hold most precious. It is easy to sneer at native science; but the more educated the Civilian is, the more he will care to study that which stands in the place of education to the native.

We have said enough on the general question of the advantage of a *first-class* education in the performance of official duties; and we must turn to the particular and practical ques-



tion,—what effect has the education of Competitioners had on the performance of their official duties? Are they better or worse officers than their predecessors? On this point it is somewhat difficult to speak, as we can only give the impressions of a single person, in a matter where hundreds of people have formed judgments, some of which must necessarily differ from our own. We believe, however, the general opinion to be that on the whole the Competition men, as Assistants or Joint Magistrates, are superior to the average of their predecessors. For one thing they work harder and begin to work earlier. In former times an Assistant was not expected to do any work at all for the first year or two, and it was thought sufficient for him to put in an occasional appearance at Cutcherry and sign some papers, in the intervals of whist and *shikar*. Now the Competition Assistant sets to work the day he arrives with a relish and spirit which positively appals the well-regulated minds of Judges and Commissioners of the old School; and as there are but few cases which fall within the powers of a young Assistant, the Magistrate to whom he cries for more work would often be glad to set him, like Michael Scot's Demon, to spin ropes out of sand. Indeed this hunger for work is rather a characteristic of all the Competition men, who are sadly given to neglect the maxim of '*Point de zèle*.' The same spirit shows itself often in a feverish anxiety to be getting on, a disappointment at the want of promotion, and a tendency to grumble at other men's getting it. They seem to think that all life is to be a Competition for place, and to forget that they belong to a decorous seniority service where every thing comes by waiting for it. But as workmen, we believe the opinion of those best-qualified to judge to be, that their average is, on the whole, superior to the average of their predecessors, certainly in quantity and perhaps in quality. At any rate it is generally allowed that they have no such absolute bad bargains among them as occasionally crept through Haileybury; and this we consider to be an immense point gained. But it is in the Secretariat that the Competition men have chiefly distinguished themselves, more than in ordinary District work. Indeed, it is probable that Government, with a view to encourage the new system, chose a larger proportion of the Competition men of the first years, than was quite fair to their Haileybury contemporaries.

Next we turn to what we have called, as separate from the official qualities, the *personal* qualities of the new men, that is, gentlemanliness, good fellowship, physique, athletic habits, &c. This side of the question has been much more keenly discussed

than the other, because these are the qualities which make themselves felt in ordinary society, and of which the writers in newspapers have most opportunities of judging. It is on this point that we think criticism has not been quite fair, and the slight prejudice which existed against the change of system has shown itself. There has been a tendency to compare the best specimen of one side against the worst of the other, to add together all the separate good qualities of the former class, and to expect them combined in every member of the new class. Because most Haileybury men were well bred, many had attractive manners, many could shoot, and many could ride across country, it was supposed that every Competition man ought to possess all these accomplishments and advantages, and that to show that some men did not possess them was to prove the new system a failure. Amusing but unauthenticated stories were circulated and accepted, and your friend who told you, 'A Walla did this' or a 'Walla said that,' considered himself to have proved the case against the Wallas, forgetful that his story might possibly be capped by what a Haileybury man had done and said. Only a service which was perfectly immaculate could have ventured on this line of argument, and the *sangre azul* of Haileybury was not entirely free from black sheep.

Another error which weakens the effect of this class of criticisms consists in their frequently passing the line which divides private from public life. With the former we, at least in the present article, have nothing to do: so long as Civilians perform their duties it matters little to the world at large who their fathers are, or how many times they get thrown in riding after the Bobbery Pack of the station. We do not mean that their duties are confined to official functions and Cutcherry hours, for work in India seldom leaves them much leisure to themselves; as inseparable as *atra cura*, though we hope more tolerable, it sits behind them in their morning ride, and drives back with them in their buggy from Cutcherry. But such matters as can be shown to be unconnected in any way with a Civilian's duties, either directly or constructively, may safely be left out of the argument.

Riding for instance. On this subject perhaps more nonsense has been talked than on any other. You will hear it said that a Magistrate who is unable to ride is unfit to be a Magistrate: and lively writers dilate on the perilous adventures of a Civilian's life and the frequent necessity of being able to ride across country as the crow flies, taking hedge and ditch on your way to capture some noted dacoit, or put down some incipient rebellion. *The mutiny, with its wonderful episodes of excitement and adven-*



ture, is probably responsible for a great deal of this style of talk, but in calmer and more peaceful times, what amount of truth is there in it? What necessity is there for the Assistant or the Magistrate of a District to be able to ride?

We think it may fairly be answered that, as a general rule, putting special cases aside, no necessity whatever exists. The tranquillisation of the country, and the division of labour, have removed most of the causes which made riding essential. Formerly a Magistrate would go out to investigate a case, or to arrest a prisoner; now he is able to leave that work entirely to the Police. In the very rare event of an *éméute* occurring, he would almost need only to ride at a foot's pace along with the men he took out to quell it. If he takes exercise for health, he finds walking exercise far more useful than riding; if he goes out in tents in the cold weather, he can walk his marches from one camping ground to another. The rapid spread of roads and railways has enabled him in many districts, and will in time enable him in all, to make sudden tours of inspection through his district in a first-class carriage or a dogcart. In short, riding is essential to the performance of no part of a Magistrate's duty; and if instances were worth anything, we could give a long list of men from Sir Charles Metcalfe downwards, who were excellent, even renowned, officers, but never could sit a horse. Of course, riding is an advantage, like every other accomplishment; but at most all that can be required is the power of sitting on a quiet hack and cantering along an easy road, and this we believe any one can acquire who chooses, and, as a matter of fact, almost every Competition man has acquired. Anything beyond that is a pleasant superfluity of skill.

So again as to shooting, it is supposed that by this pursuit we support our national prestige, and impress on the native mind a belief in our skill, energy, resources, and physical strength. It may be allowed that natives do respect such tiger-shooting feats as Outram's, though even here we suspect that the wish is father to the thought; and we have heard old Shikaries tell stories of native apathy and refusal to give information, which lead us greatly to doubt their admiration. But the ordinary sport of the more civilised parts of India is confined to hares, partridges, and antelope, in a contest with whom the victor can hardly pride himself on his pluck. Even our tiger-shooting we do on elephants, and a man in an open country with a good howdah may laugh at a wilderness of tigers. The most that can be said for shooting, as affecting a Civilian's duties, is that it takes him off beaten roads and to out-of-the-way places where

he may hear of things, to his advantage or otherwise, which he may not hear in any other way. But this also is one of the great advantages which walking has over riding, as it is very hard for a native on foot to keep up a conversation with a 'Hakim' on horseback.

We must not be understood to undervalue physical skill and athletic pursuits as a training to the mind. We are at present considering them as an end, not as a means; that is, we maintain that these habits when acquired, do not of themselves assist a Civilian in performing his duties, but are their own sufficient reward. A Civilian is not a better *officer*, because he can ride, though he is a better *man*, because he has learnt to ride. Of two men, the one whose muscles are developed, whose body is supple, who has mastered a difficult accomplishment, whose health and digestion are good, who sees that there is a world beyond the desk and the book-shelf will, *ceteris paribus*, be the better of the two. So far as Competition has been guilty of producing physical incapables, they might be pitted against the Haileybury mental incapables, though the comparison would, in our opinion, be a very unequal one. But the number of such incapables must be very small, and we do not think the Competition men, out of Bengal Proper, (of which we know little,) have been found deficient as a body in this respect. The education of an ordinary English gentleman should preclude such sheer physical deficiency, and although the Competition Examination, as at present arranged, does not perhaps secure this, we think that with the alterations which we shall propose further on, it can hardly fail to attain that end.

We conclude then that the question of *physique* and athletic habits is almost beside the present matter of discussion: for the man in whom these habits are most developed, is not the better officer on that account, but is only advantaged in his private capacity by having pleasures and pursuits which others have not, while the man in whom they are least developed will still have enough of them to perform all his duties with satisfaction and success.

The want of gentlemanliness is the point on which Competition men have been more attacked and criticised than on any other; and probably there must be some truth in the accusation—so much smoke could not be engendered without fire. But the word itself is so vague and is capable of so many widely different meanings according to the sentiments of the speaker that it is important to discriminate between them, and to show which of them are cognate to our argument and which are irrelevant.

There are two widely different senses in which the word is used, (and we cannot too carefully distinguish them) according



as gentlemanliness is shown in the manners, or exists in the heart. Of the two it is clear that gentlemanliness of the heart is far the most important. This is what we call 'a Nature's gentleman,' a man truthful and honest, brave, unselfish, and tender to the weak. When Mr. Tennyson draws the picture of his lamented friend, he paints him as gentle and courteous to all, free from narrowness or spite, or 'villain fancy'—

'And thus he bore without abuse  
The grand old name of gentleman.'

But these qualities are secured to us by no rank and by no education; even Royalty itself could not save us from a most cruel and cowardly example of a character the very reverse of this. Such persons, though rarer than most men think, do exist, and neither Haileybury nor Oxford nor sixteen quarterings could neutralise them; a few of them would be enough to destroy the good name of any service, but we have not heard that Competition men have been considered wanting in such essential qualities as these.

The question involved is then the minor one of a want of gentlemanly manners; and the charge brought against Competition men is that, coming from a lower rank of social life, they show that pettiness of thought which Mr. Thackeray satirized in his descriptions of the worship of the Peerage, combined with a brusqueness and self-assertion, or shyness and *gaucherie*, which arise from their newness to good society. This, though a much less serious charge than the want of true gentlemanliness of heart would have been, is still an important matter, the more so as, we are told, it is keenly felt by the natives who are so quick to appreciate character, and so well able to distinguish between the true gentleman and the snob; so that they resent the degradation of being under the one as much as they delight in being governed by the other, and the want of gentlemanly manners in our future Collectors and Magistrates will shake the foundations on which the British Government rests.

We consider this to be one of the most extraordinary delusions that ever obtained any sort of popular acceptance. It rests on a fundamental misconception of native character, and is one of many instances which show how little, after so many years, we are able to enter into the thoughts of those around us, and how much we need some philosophic observer, some De Tocqueville, to interpret to us a character of which we hardly possess the key. The native, while a keen observer of everything that directly concerns his own interests, is the worst observer in the world of everything beyond that narrow circle. We see how eagerly he watches the face of some great man, how rapidly he catches his meaning,

how neatly he suits his answers to the desired conclusion, how acutely he discovers any concealed dislike to himself, and we call him a keen observer. But of the face of nature, of the things that surround him on every side, he is utterly unobservant, and hence, in our Courts of law, a cross-examination as to *locale* and time will generally disconcert the most truthful witness, because he really did not observe what the time was, and where he was sitting, at a given period, and his perceptive powers being so weak, his memory is unable to recal a scene which did not impress itself deeply on them. Now the matters in which a want of gentlemanly manners is shown are purely social; our intercourse with natives is purely official. A man may be a great offender in manners, &c. towards his fellows and equals, and yet be quite free of those faults towards his subordinates and towards natives. Indeed, the pettiness and want of independence which constitute Mr. Thackeray's snobbishness, would tend to make a man courteous rather than overbearing to a native chief who came to visit him, and whose visit he would take as a high compliment. On the other hand it must be said that there are many cases of men who are most courteous in manner to their fellows, and most delightful companions, but who are insolent, insulting, and inaccessible to natives.

It arises from their resolute exclusion of us from all familiarity and social intimacy with themselves, that our intercourse with natives lies within very narrow and well defined limits. In Cutcherry we see cases, not persons; and the only difference between men there beyond their capacity for work is their capacity for keeping their temper. Out of Cutcherry, the Civilian sees men who come to call on him, and in a few favoured districts there are some men who are glad to accompany him out shooting, and with whom he can be tolerably familiar; but these are too rare to include in a general argument. What judgment can a native gentleman, who comes to make a formal call, form of the manners and qualities of the person he visits? He can judge pretty well if he is received favourably and with pleasure or not; but vulgarity and bad manners are things which come out when the person is at ease, and the attention relaxed from the attempt to be polite. Even the equals of the Civilian might fail to form a correct opinion at such a time, and yet we are, in a manner, always on the look-out for such things, we know them beforehand, we can tell which is a slip, and which is a habit, and the slightest thing is to us a symbol of great significance. But the native not only is not observant of these points as not concerning himself, but he *does not know* what the symbols represent, and he has a code of his own, far more perfect in his eyes, the



minute detail of which throws our most elaborate ceremonies into the shade. That Rajpoot Talookdar with a genealogy going back to Bramha, to whom you have done your best to be civil, goes away thinking you a perfect boor, because you handed him a paper with your left hand, or because you did not snap your fingers when you yawned. Mr. Muir tells us that a panegyrist of Mahomed narrated of him, as the highest praise, that he never looked behind him when he walked. When gentlemanliness and good manners depend on snapping one's fingers and not looking behind one, we think even the Walla who would not sit down before Mr. Halliday has a chance of passing with the rest.

All natives of course can tell the relative degrees of power and the way in which we behave to each other. They know the difference between the Magistrate and the Railway Engineer, and apportion their respect accordingly. They watch the motions and tones of the Commissioner when a planter comes to call on him, and they interpret them after their own ideas, and deduce the superiority of the Commissioner, though it is quite possible that the planter may be the better gentleman of the two. Given two Collectors in adjoining districts, of equal power, one a thoroughly gentlemanly man, and the other not, we do not conceive they would know the difference; they would be able to tell which suited them best, but it is very possible that the vulgarest man might be the most popular. To think otherwise, to believe that they are interested in minor points of difference between us which do not concern themselves, is greatly to exaggerate our own importance in their eyes. Except to the few native gentlemen who live in or close to the Sudder Station, and to our own subordinates, the changes and chances, the goings and comings, the preferments and retirements of district officers are matters of the profoundest unconcern. Of the 600,000 or 800,000 souls who compose an ordinary district, an active friendly Magistrate might perhaps speak to five thousand, and make the acquaintance of 500, in a year. How can we hope that they will remember our names, much less appreciate our distinctive characters? The names which the people love and honour, such as Cleveland's in Sonthalistan, and Jonathan Duncan's in Benares, may be counted on the fingers, and every district has on the average not more than two or three Collectors who are more or less remembered. If you ask why any one was popular, you are utterly at fault. Cases can be mentioned of men of easy temper and of sharp temper, active habits and lazy habits, friendly manners and reserved manners, great knowledge and great ignorance, who were sometimes popular and sometimes unpopular; and the same man has often been po-

pular in one district and unpopular (or rather unknown) in another. Take the two great representative men of the early Punjab officials, and examine the light in which they live in the memory of the people: the stories told of Nicholson represent him as always employed in flogging ferociously every one who stood in his way, while 'Uncle Abbott' must have passed his whole life time in sitting under trees talking to old men and patting little children on the back. We do not mean to say that these stories are either an adequate or an accurate account of the men, but they show what their admirers believed of them, and wished others to believe. If Abbott had flogged and Nicholson coddled, would the result have been the same? It is impossible to tell, and the more one studies the working of the native mind the more profound is the discouragement which follows. At most we can only find out, with much research and final uncertainty, what the native does think on any given subject; what he is likely to think and feel under a given combination of circumstances, is more than our philosophy is able at present to discover.

We may then dismiss the consideration of native feeling from our present discussion, and the only thing that remains is the ill effect produced by a want of gentlemanly manners in the Competition men, on the official and non-official Europeans in the country. We must not be understood to imply that this would be a slight evil. It is of the most vital importance to Government that the men who occupy its highest offices should be popular, respected, not prone to give offence. The aristocratic tendencies of the average Englishman make him in all cases unwilling to be governed by men who are not above him by birth, and do not belong to what he considers the classes born to govern, but if he feels that the men set over him are not only not above him but beneath him in the true social rank, the Government would become an object of contempt as well as repugnance. From our position in the country we all stand constantly in need of mutual assistance; every one of us in every kind of employment is engaged in trying to do by himself the work of twenty men, and failing to do it; much forbearance and good feeling are required in all the relations of life; and, to carry on this state of things, an amount of courteousness, friendliness, and cordiality, is required, which it is impossible to feel towards a man who is constantly treading on our corns and offending our finer senses.

It is at once a curious and a delicate question to enquire what the facts of the case are, and how far the Competition men as a class do offend against the rules of polite society. As far as Calcutta is concerned, there can be little doubt that the verdict is against them. But is Calcutta a fair judge in the



matter? We think not, for there can be little doubt that Calcutta from the first entertained somewhat of a prejudice against them, and, as we mentioned before, expected too much of them. The existence of such prejudice, however slight and however natural, would necessarily increase the shyness which most Englishmen bring to a new country, and would thereby of itself give rise to the reserve and *gaucherie* of which Calcutta complains. Haileybury men landed to find the place full of old acquaintances and relations, glad to receive and welcome them, and they naturally saw a great deal of society, and their young fresh spirit helped to make them very pleasant companions. Competition men as a rule landed not knowing a soul in the town, under the impression, (right or wrong,) that they were not likely to be cordially received, ignorant of the ways of the place, and not broken into the atrocious custom of forcing their acquaintance on strangers. It was unreasonable to expect them to be equally sociable with the great Haileybury family party.

But on leaving Calcutta the complaint rapidly dies away; little is heard of it from any up-country station or in any Mofussil newspaper. The official reports which were published in 1861 afforded a singular confirmation of this; those from Bengal were, as a whole, unfavourable; those from the North-West, with two exceptions, were favourable; and those from the Punjab and Oudh were highly laudatory. In other words, the less the influence of Calcutta and the greater its distance, the more progressive the province and the harder the work, in the same degree the Competition men are better thought of.

What then can be the reasons why a class which is unpopular in Calcutta should be approved up-country? We think they are not hard to find or far to seek. They are,—first, that other people are less fastidious, and secondly, that the men improve. In most stations out of the Presidency towns, society has hard work to keep itself alive, and is unable to be exclusive. In some places a lady is never seen, in most the residents are very few, and every one is glad to get a new sensation and see a new face. Nothing could be more cordial and hearty than the way in which the Competition men have, almost without exception, been received by their seniors in the Mofussil. The new comers therefore warm, and lose their awkwardness and reserve under the more genial treatment, and are generally young and pliant enough to take the tone of the society they live in. But the point most important to remember is, that of all countries in the world India is the greatest educationist, and of all services

in India the Civil Service is the greatest teacher. The sense of authority, the responsibility of governing, the pressure on the conscience resulting from so much power to be used ill or well, the feeling of belonging to a dominant and aristocratic class, the sympathy for the oppressed, which the power to stop oppression induces, the self-helpfulness caused by the isolation of each individual, the self-reliance which arises from the necessity of coming to rapid decisions and of cutting the knot where it cannot be untied, all these excite the best qualities of the man, teach him self-respect and *esprit de corps*, give him insight into the solemnity of life, and crush by their reality and impendency the pettiness of thought and the selfish self-asserting habits which may often be engendered in a man who has to make his way upwards in the world from a low station of life. The faults complained of, being mostly surface faults of manner and form, are cleared away by the great educating influence of a Civilian's life; and thus the 'Snob' of Calcutta may become the gentleman of the North-West.

We here conclude the comparison which with all fairness and carefulness we have tried to draw between the men sent out by the Competition system and those from Haileybury. It will be seen that we claim no advantage for the former over the latter, except in the matter of keeping out the incapables, and of getting a larger quantity of work done. In respect to manners and address we should be glad if we could consider the new system equal to the old. The Crown will never have a body of servants of higher honour, more gentlemanly feeling, and greater abilities in individual cases than Haileybury provided for India. But Haileybury, though not an anachronism in 1854, became so in 1858, for the patronage, which was safe in the hands of the Directors, would have been a political danger when transferred to the Crown. Selection by competition is the principle which England has deliberately adopted, and a return to Haileybury has now become an impossibility. Our wisest plan is now to accept the general principle, and to ascertain as far as we can what modifications of detail the experience of eight years has shown to be advisable.

The most essential point of all is that the Competition Examination should really be such as to test the previous studies of every competitor, and should be a guarantee for his having received a sound and good education. In our earlier remarks on the subject we have assumed that it does this, and that every Competitioner must necessarily be an educated man, and therefore a good workman. We believe, however, that there is much ground for the complaint which has latterly been very prevalent, that



the Examination does not secure this, and that an organised system of cramming exists, the promoters of which have taken the measure of the Examiners, and learnt their style of questions, and are able to pass men through the Examination by that basest of all kinds of cram, a sort of *memoria technica* wide enough to include likely questions, and supersede all honest study and real knowledge of the subject. If this is the case, it is indeed high time for considerable changes to be made.

The authors of the Competition scheme originally foresaw this danger with great sagacity, and attempted to provide against it. They refused to devote the Examination to subjects connected with India, and insisted on the importance of its being confined to the ordinary studies which the education of an English gentleman embraces. They did this partly with a view to avoid cramming, and partly to prevent men from giving up their time to acquire knowledge which, if they failed to pass the Examination, would be useless to them in any other profession. For this cause they gave an enormous preponderance of marks to the three great subjects, Classics, Mathematics, and English Literature. But they added to these the many other subjects which it is the fashion of the present day to place on the curriculum, but which may be called the ornaments rather than the basis of a good education, modern languages, oriental languages, natural sciences. On these the crammers fastened, and these are the branches of study which 'preparatory Academies' for the Indian Civil Service chiefly affect. For it must never be forgotten that to set an Examination paper is a very hard work, nay an art of itself; and that it is the weakness of Examiners which constitutes the strength of crammers. Now at the Universities we have a class of men who are simply perfect in the art of examining in Classics and Mathematics. The study of these subjects is the occupation of their lives, they have looked at them in every possible light and manner, they already know thousands of questions on them, and every day they are working out some problem or idea which supplies the material of new questions—it is impossible therefore to be prepared to answer their questions by any means short of thoroughly learning the whole subject. They are so accustomed to see through men that they cannot be deceived by any false appearance of knowledge, and they have examined such splendid scholars that they are not tolerant of imperfection. But the other subjects are in a very different position; they are young and not yet popular, they must be treated gently, and students must not be discouraged. If a stern Examiner plucked *two-thirds of his men* in a classical or mathematical Examination,

the number who would come up next year would be undiminished : but if the same thing were done in Natural or Moral Sciences, the class-rooms would be empty at once. Hence comes a toleration of imperfection, a kind of gratitude for even dilettante study, which is ruinous to true scholarship, and profitable only to the crammers. Besides this, you have to draw your Examiners from a class of men, who though employed in studying and teaching these subjects, are not much employed in examining on them, and consequently cannot do it as ably as the University men can in their subjects. They have not before them a mass of questions from which to choose, and they have not the constant attention of thought directed to inventing new questions; they soon get to the end of their tether, and the crammers find out the style of question they ask, and teach that, not the subject itself. In some things the available knowledge in England is so low that the Examiners themselves cannot venture far into the subject. We remember a distinguished scholar, who had just learnt enough Sanscrit to master Etymological difficulties, telling us that he could teach any one enough Sanscrit in a fortnight to floor the paper which was set in one of the early Competition Examinations. In the same way it is notorious that a mere smattering of modern languages and science is sufficient to obtain almost full marks.

The originators of the system tried to meet this danger by giving a low maximum of marks to this class of subjects; and certainly it would seem that 350 marks for French were not excessive out of a total of 7,000. But, supposing the candidate to pass with only 1,400 marks, (we believe the lowest number in any Examination has been 1,100) and to get 700 out of these for a very imperfect knowledge of French and German, is not that disproportionate? As matters have lately gone, it is notorious that a knowledge of English literature obtained by desultory reading, and of French and German such as may be picked up in a year's travel, (none of these things requiring any of the study which trains the mind, or offering any guarantee that the candidate is an educated man) have been sufficient to pass him. In fact, the Competition Examination which ought to be the hardest in the world is almost one of the easiest.

The remedy we would suggest for this is a very simple one, being only a modification of what was originally intended as a safeguard. The object is to make the Examination harder and more thorough. We would do this by making both Classics and Mathematics a *sine quâ non*, in which no one who failed could obtain an appointment; by this we secure that the candidate must have had the education of an English gentleman, such as



the public schools and Universities afford. We would make a quarter of the total marks the minimum that should count, instead of a tenth as at present, so as to keep candidates from reaping any advantage from stray marks gained by worthless smatterings of knowledge in different studies. And in addition to the necessary subjects, English, Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, we would allow the candidate only to take up one modern or one oriental language and one branch of natural science. By this plan of narrowing the number of subjects taken up, and requiring greater perfection in them, the Examination would be made harder, and the possession of good mental training and a sound education might fairly be predicated of every one who passed it. We do not fear that increased severity would frighten away candidates, for the numbers increase every year, as the system becomes better known, and the easiness and miscellaneous character of the Examination has been rather against it at the Universities. If the changes we advocate make it more difficult for natives of this country to pass, we cannot say that we should regret the result as matters now stand. We are prepared to admit native gentlemen as our equals, and as members of our governing class, when they have proved themselves fit to be such, but we do not wish to see the side-door of a smattering of Sanscrit and Arabic opened to give them entrance before they are fit.

The next great question is, what is to be done with the successful candidates between the time of their obtaining their appointments and their coming out to India. It is clear that their time should be devoted to studies directly connected with India, and to those especially which can be pursued in England better than in India. The spoken languages can certainly be learnt far more easily and more correctly in this country, and unless the student has a special turn for Sanscrit and Arabic, it is doubtful whether the acquisition of a rudimentary knowledge of them will be of much good to him. The history and literature of the country are also much better studied in India, where they become far more intelligible and attractive by reason of the light they throw on the character of the people and the races and localities of the surrounding neighbourhood. But Political Economy and Jurisprudence can be studied with far greater advantage in England, and indeed we may almost say that it is impossible for any one who has not learnt them there to learn them out here. A searching examination on these two subjects, with perhaps a little Indian History, should form the second test before the Competitioner leaves England.

The original plan was that the men who had passed the first

Examination should be allowed to dispose of themselves, and to study where they liked for the second. This has not on the whole been found to work well. Life in England has great temptations for young men who are soon to be permanent exiles from it, and the prospect of a distant Examination does not supply equal stimulus to the daily spur of the Tutor's class-room. Several men of much promise, and who took high places in the first Examination, have failed to pass the second through sheer idleness and want of study; and many who had been educated privately have suffered from not knowing where to look for good instruction in the necessary studies. To remedy this defect in the system, as well as to secure University polish and mutual knowledge, Sir Charles Trevelyan is understood to have reported last year in favour of compelling the men to reside for two years at either Oxford or Cambridge, while studying for the second Examination. We think this proposal in many respects an admirable one, and while suggesting a few alterations in the details, we should welcome the adoption of the proposal as it stands, as a great improvement on the present system. One great advantage it possesses is this, that it obviates the necessity of discussing the suggestion that only candidates from the public schools or Universities should be admitted to compete in the first Examination. This could be at once defeated by any candidate who chose to enter himself at Eton or at Oxford for a single term; while the object which is aimed at,—that the men should acquire the gentlemanly tone of the public schools or Universities,—is equally obtained by a residence at the University for two years after the Examination instead of before it.

The alteration we advocate is that the men should be compelled to reside, not at any College, in either University, but at one particular College,—a better still, that they should have a College instituted solely for themselves. The latter suggestion was started in a very able pamphlet privately circulated last year, and we consider it, if practicable, in many respects the best plan of all. But it is no slight undertaking to found and establish a new College, and unless very good cause was shown for it, the Indian Revenues could not be fairly called on to bear such an expense. The next best plan would be to affiliate them to some one or two large Colleges which could receive them without being entirely swamped by their numbers. By this arrangement, following the same studies, and meeting in the same class-rooms, they would have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other, while yet they would be in less danger of becoming a *clique*, and would be affected by the *general tone of the University*. There might be a little diffi-



culty about men who had already taken their degrees, and to whom the discipline of constant class-rooms or lectures would seem irksome, but they form a very small minority, and it would be easy to make arrangements about details. In all probability it would be found necessary to establish special Professorships of Law and Political Economy for this class of students; since the Law Lectures would require a special adaptation to India, which would not suit the general attendants at the Lectures, and in both cases rather more frequent Lectures would be advisable than the present courses supply.

There are two minor points requiring to be noticed, in connection with this proposal. One is the expense which it will cause to the men. Living at either University cannot be very cheap, and may be very dear, and this additional outlay might fall very hard on the sons of poor parents. But all good education is dear in England, and we do not think that this plea can be urged, unless it is shown that the expense is unnecessary, and not, as in our opinion, essential to turn out the class of man that India requires. The other point is that of age. At present the Competitioner cannot be over twenty-two when he passes the first Examination, and he leaves England at twenty-three. Sir Charles Trevelyan's proposal requires that he should remain two years in England, and we consider this very important, for less than two years would not be sufficient either to acquire the University tone or thoroughly to master the subjects; so that he would leave for India at twenty-four. We believe however that the idea is fast losing ground that it is necessary to come out very young to India in order to be acclimatised to it. The University men who have come out in the Educational Department have mostly been older than twenty-four, and their average health has not suffered from it. Planters, who are notorious for their good health, do not always come to India young; and the Competition men who have come out hitherto have been on an average two years older than Haileybury men, and yet they have stood the climate just as well. In short, the only truth contained in the acclimatisation theory is that a man must be young enough to be able to adopt the habits of the country; we must look to prudence and natural constitution for the rest. Now in England every one who adopts a profession, whether as Lawyer, Clergyman, or what not, has to alter his habits considerably, and few men adopt their professions till they are about twenty-five. It follows that if a man came to India, he would still have sufficient pliancy to adopt the ways which experience has pronounced best for resisting the injury of the climate, while he will have had so much more time to complete

his education and form his mind. We should therefore not object to see the maximum age extended to twenty-three for the first Examination, and twenty-five for the second.

Another proposal of Sir Charles Trevelyan's which we would strongly support, is that the Language Examination in Calcutta should be abolished, and the young Civilians sent up country at once to stay there. There is no doubt that the forced residence in Calcutta is a great waste of time, and very unpopular with most men; in many cases debts are incurred which it takes years to pay off, and in all cases the knowledge of the languages can be better acquired in the Mofussil. We would go further and suggest that the Examination in Languages, and the subsequent one which Assistants have to pass in Revenue and Law, should be thrown into one, instead of being separated as they are now by an interval of a year or two. Modern languages are learnt best by being compelled to speak them as well as to study them, and a moderate amount of Cutcherry would supply the necessary compulsion.

We have now followed our Competition Civilian from his first Examination to his entry on his official duties. We have stated what we conceive to be his good points, and the criticisms which have borne upon him more hardly than fairly. We have not concealed his deficiencies, and have suggested the means which seem most adapted to their cure. In this, as in all other matters connected with the organisation and working of the system, we have had occasion to speak with gratitude and praise of the part Sir Charles Trevelyan has taken, and the plans he has proposed. The Competition men themselves must feel that there are points in which the system is improvable, and that it is not premature to discuss them. Those who had most reason to regret the abolition of Haileybury must see that the time for recrimination is past, and that the wisest plan is not to kick against the inevitable, but to make the best of the present state of things. We trust that on these grounds all parties will be induced to give the matter a full and candid consideration, such as its importance deserves. We look forward with hope to see such an expression of public opinion on the subject as shall induce the Secretary of State to rescue Sir Charles Trevelyan's Report from the pigeon-hole where it has been buried, and to take some action upon it, the effect of which may be to make the Competition Examination more thorough, and to give the men more knowledge of the world before they leave England.

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ART. III.—1.—*Institutes of Manu.*2.—*Ayeen Akbery.*3.—*The Land Tax of India, according to the Mohammedan Law, translated from the Futawa Alungeeree, with Explanatory Notes, and an Introductory Essay, by Neil B. E. Baillie, Esq.*4.—*The History of Hindustan; translated from the Persian, by Alexander Dow, Esq.*5.—*The History of India: the Hindu and Mohammedan Periods, by the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone.*6.—*Modern India and its Government, by George Campbell, Esq.*7.—*The Land Revenue of British India, by Francis Horsley Robinson, Esq.*8.—*A Handy Book for Landlord and Tenant, or Act X. of 1859, with Annotations, by W. R. Davies, Esq.*

**P**ROPRIETARY right to land founded on occupancy and labour. —Prior to the constitution of states occupancy appears to have been the foundation of property in land. When dwelling in the wilds of nature, subsisting by the chase, men claimed all game within the limits of a certain domain, the boundaries of which they themselves defined; but emigration was a tacit renouncement of ownership, consequently other huntsmen might come to the forsaken region and make it the place of their abode. Nomadic tribes had an exclusive right to the pastures in which they periodically grazed their flocks and herds, and absence did not affect their claim till it had become so long as to make it sure they purposed not to return. The husbandman acquired a right to all the land in the wilderness and forest which he cleared and brought under tillage; but if he afterward permitted it to lie uncultivated and gradually return to its former sterile condition, his right, which was founded on his labour, with the effects of that labour passed away. On the rights of parents were founded the claims of families. Before men assembled as communities or nations to frame laws for the regulation of property, nature dictated to the father the duty of bequeathing to his children the land made valuable by his toil. As his descendants multiplied, and the limited productions of their primitive abode proved in the course of time inadequate to their support, the necessity arose for spreading

themselves over a wider space of the earth; scattered abroad, they formed new settlements, and eventually became distinct bodies of people, separated from each other by territorial boundaries and tribal names, and not unfrequently by difference of language. When persons belonging to over-crowded domains proceeded to colonize desert regions, it was with the conviction that occupancy would give them proprietary rights; indeed there would have been no inducement to clear the forest and till the ground if others could seize and appropriate the crops. The book of Genesis, the most venerable of records, which begins its narrative with the creation of the world, and contains the only trustworthy account we possess of the early days of our race, gives a striking example of the acknowledged right of emigrants to appropriate land not occupied by other tribes. When, owing to their flocks and herds being too numerous to find sufficient pasture, and contentions arising between their servants, it was no longer practicable to dwell together in harmony, Abram proposed to his nephew that one of them should remove with his substance to another locality. 'Let there', he said, 'be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will take the right; or if thou depart to the right, then I will go to the left. And Lot lifted up his eyes, and behold all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, even as the garden of the Lord. Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan, and journeyed east; and Abram dwelt in the land of Canaan.\*' In the above passage the right of either to take whatever land he pleased which was vacant is fully admitted.

While the earth was common to all, the portion which each individual occupied for rest, shade, hunting, pasturage, or cultivation was his own as long as he chose to stay, and to have driven him from it would have been a violation of the law of nature. The proprietary right to land founded on occupancy has been admitted in nearly all the treaties which emigrants have formed with the aborigines of the countries in which they have settled. In confirmation of the truth of this statement we may refer to the treaties of Europeans with red Indians in the American wilds, Greenlanders, the Esquimaux, New Zealanders, and natives of our Australian possessions. Though the whites have sometimes evaded the execution of treaties, or only partially fulfilled them, they have never attempted to justify

\* Genesis xiii.



such breaches of faith by denying the claim of the aborigines to the soil; whatever reasons they may have assigned for the culpable course they have taken, the validity of this claim has continued unquestioned.

*Proprietary right of the state to the soil.*—While the uncleared portions of the earth were almost boundless, no inconvenience could originate from a title to land founded on occupancy or labour, but with the progress of civilization land, yielding the sustenance of life, rose in value, and as one citizen had as much right as another to unreclaimed wastes, and every individual could not devote himself to agricultural pursuits, men appear to have come in nearly every country to the same conclusion on this important subject, and made the state the proprietor of the soil.

The laws of ancient Rome were based on the admitted right of the state to the land. Originally it appears to have been divided into three portions, the first appropriated to the maintenance of religion, the second to the support of government, and the third distributed among the citizens, to each of whom was assigned an allotment of two acres.\* The Government was considered lord of the countries acquired by conquest, and in this manner very extensive territories came into its possession. Some of the vanquished inhabitants were permitted to retain their estates, but others were deprived of them; and of the lands thus obtained, a certain portion was assigned to each individual citizen, and ratified to him by the performance of religious solemnities. Every such allotment was freehold, exempted from tax, and vendible; the owner had power to dispose of it, and convey to the purchaser a title of an unexceptionable character. But the national domains that were not thus divided, and which consisted chiefly of waste, were held by a different tenure. They were let out on the condition of paying as rent to the revenue one-fifth of the increase in the herds and flocks, the same proportion of the fruit of the olive and the vine, and a tenth of the produce of the field. In process of time the nobility, acquiring much influence in the administration of public affairs, obtained possession of most of these undivided lands of the commonwealth, and showed not the least consideration for the classes below them. The inferior ranks gradually sank into abject poverty, for, as their necessities sometimes compelled them to borrow money at high interest, being unable to meet the claims of their creditors in any other way, as was often the case, they had to transfer to them the little land on which

\* The Roman acre, *jagerum*, was 240 feet in length, and 120 in breadth, making 28,800 square feet.

they depended for subsistence. When this proved insufficient to meet the demand, they were sometimes seized and forced to liquidate the balance by working like slaves on the farms they had lost; as there was a scarcity of labourers, and land was of no value if not brought under cultivation, their creditors had a powerful motive to resort to such acts of severity. Thus stripped of their ancient possessions and reduced to servitude, a sense of injustice at length alienated their affections from the government, and raised within them a spirit of hostility to the patrician order which vented itself in commotions that threatened to endanger the safety of the realm. After many efforts to temporize and repeated breaches of faith, the authorities, alarmed at the anarchy their unwise policy had evoked, made those changes in the law which were called for. To check the evil which was the subject of complaint, a statute was framed appointing a redistribution of the lands, fixing the quantity an individual would be permitted to occupy, and dividing what he possessed above that measurement among the plebeians in portions of seven acres. The allotments were limited to 500 acres; and the cattle each holder was allowed to pasture on the public commons were not to exceed 100 head of large, and 500 of small stock.

Similar statutes were framed by the Greeks. That these laws sometimes sacrificed private interests for what was mistaken to be the good of the public, failed to accomplish the designs for which they were enacted, and greatly retarded the progress of agriculture, will be readily conceded by all who have carefully studied them. We make this reference to them not as an admission of their being characterized by wisdom and equity, and their effects being always beneficial; but as a proof that the proprietary right to the land was considered to be vested in the state.

In China the emperor is deemed the sole proprietor of the soil, and the farmer holds his land on condition of paying to the state from one to two per cent. of the crops, or in money from a penny to sixpence an acre;\* but though only a tenant at will it is customary to allow him to retain possession as long as he punctually fulfils his engagements with the crown. In Persia also the right to the soil is vested in the king. Prior to the great famine, which happened during the administration of the patriarch Joseph, the land in Egypt appears to have been the property of the cultivators; but for the sustenance received in that calamity they transferred it to the sovereign, except

\* See *Medhurst's China: its State and Prospects*, pp. 69-70. The *Mow*, the Chinese acre, is somewhat smaller than the English acre.



the portion belonging to the priests, and, when let out, one-fifth of the produce was conveyed to the royal treasury as rent.\*

The modern nations of Europe derive only a small portion of their revenue from the rent of lands belonging to the state. Out of an income of £71,490,000 the crown lands in England yield only £300,000†. In former times it was widely different, for then the sovereign, as we learn from our ancient laws, was deemed the sole proprietor of the soil. All lands were acknowledged to be vested in him, and he allowed vassals the use and possession of them on certain conditions, the chief of which were doing him homage in his courts in time of peace, and attending him to the wars with the stipulated retinue and for the number of days mentioned in the grant.‡ Failing in any part of this service the fief reverted to the king. At first fiefs appear to have been for a definite period, one or more years, afterwards for the life of the feudatory, and it was frequently the case that his male heir, if capable of rendering the required service, was permitted to succeed him, and in process of time it became usual for him to do so; but for this favour he always presented a donation, consisting of horses, arms, money, and the like|| in acknowledgment of the king's proprietary right; and this continued to be done by the successors of feudatories even after fiefs became absolutely hereditary. The former proprietary right of the English monarch to the soil may be also traced in the forest-laws¶ and the law of escheats§; and that the same right was vested in all the ancient sovereigns of Europe is apparent from the fact of the rent of land constituting for a long time the greater part of their revenue.\*\*

The United States of America claim all unoccupied wastes, and the proceeds from the sale of them form a considerable portion of the revenue. The public lands are surveyed and marked out into townships, measuring 23,040 acres,†† which are sub-divided into thirty-six equal sections of 640 acres; thirty-five of these sections are sold by auction, and the sum realized paid into the treasury; but the thirty-sixth is reserved for the support

\* Genesis xlvii. 20—26.

† Mr. Gladstone's Budget of 1863.

‡ For an account of the ceremonies of homage, fealty, and investiture used in conferring a fief, and the prescribed duties of the feudatory, the reader is referred to Hallam's View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages, vol. i. pp. 168-169, and vol. ii. pp. 401, 5, 6.

|| See Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, vol. ii. p. 56.

¶ Ditto ditto ditto ii. p. 415.

§ Ditto ditto ditto i. p. 303.

\*\* Their portion of the produce is said to have been about one-fifth. See Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 38.

†† The United States use the English statute acre.



of schools in the township, and sometimes other reservations are made for the maintenance of colleges and universities. The same right is claimed and exercised in all our colonial possessions. The settlers purchase from the local government the lands which they purpose to occupy.

According to the ancient laws which have come down to us, the Hindu sovereign was considered the lord of the soil, entitled to an equitable portion of the produce, and might punish the tenant whose crops failed through remissness. Manu, who lived about nine hundred years before Christ, says in his Institutes, 'If land be neglected by the fault of the farmer himself, as if he fail to sow in due time, he shall be fined ten times as much as the king's share of the crop, that might otherwise have been raised; but only five times as much, if it were the fault of his servants without his knowledge.\* In the following passage from the code the proprietary right of the sovereign is distinctly asserted:—'Of old hoards, and precious minerals in the earth, the king is entitled to half by reason of his general protection, and because he is the lord paramount of the soil.† That the sovereign was the sole proprietor of the land and exercised over it unlimited power is proved by ancient inscriptions in which royal grants are made as rewards to individuals. In these inscriptions it is recorded that the minerals below the ground, the herbage, wood, and water above it; rents and tolls, with fines inflicted for breaches of the law; the earth and the sky, are given to the grantee and his heirs as long as the sun and the moon shall endure.‡

The portion of the crops to which the ancient kings of India were entitled was a sixth, or at most a fourth of the grain in the husk¶ and, as some writers affirm, this continued to be their

\* Laws of Manu, Chap. viii. 243.

† Ditto ditto 39.

‡ In support of the statements made in the text, we refer the reader to a grant dated twenty-three years before the Christian era, engraven on copper, and found among the ruins at Monghyr, of which an interesting account is given in the Asiatic Researches, vol. i. pp. 126-27; and to another inscription on a metal plate found buried in the earth at Tanna, and dated one thousand and eighteen years before Christ, all the particulars of which are recorded in the Asiatic Researches, vol. i. pp. 363-4-5.

¶ 'Of cattle, of gems, of gold and silver, added each year to the capital stock, a fiftieth part may be taken by the king; of grain, an eighth part, a sixth, or a twelfth, according to the difference of the soil, and the labour necessary to cultivate it. He may also take a sixth part of the clear annual increase of trees, flesh-meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, medical substances, liquids, flowers, roots, and fruit, of gathered leaves, potherbs, grass, utensils made with leather or cane, earthen pots, and all things made of stone. Manu, Chap. vii. 130, 131, 132. "A military king, who takes

share to the close of the Hindu dynasty,\* though others think that, though limited to this amount in the age of Manu, in subsequent times it became larger.† At the time of harvest the Government surveyors proceeded to the fields, and in the presence of the farmers computed the quantity of the produce; in their calculations they were aided, as well as checked, by a reference to the crops of former years, a record of which was kept by the village-accountant. The share of the crown being thus ascertained was received in kind, or in money. Every village was a corporate body, and conducted its internal affairs according to customs established from time immemorial, which had the force of laws. Whether its dimensions comprehended hundreds or thousands of acres of arable and waste land the boundaries were accurately defined. Generally speaking, the cultivation was not in common, each family had its separate portion of arable land, which it might have cleared and brought under tillage, or come into possession of it by purchase; but in whatever manner obtained only the use of the soil was acquired, and this in no way affected the proprietary right of the crown. For all arable land rent was paid to the state, but the village-common was exempt, and there every farmer was allowed to graze his cattle. In times in which every thing appeared to threaten their annihilation, these rural communities sustained little serious injury; when monarchs were dethroned they lived through the period of anarchy, managing their concerns in the usual way, till another government was established, to which they paid, without troubling themselves about the divine right of kings, allegiance

‘even a fourth part of the crops of his realm at a time of urgent necessity, as of war or invasion, and protects his people to the utmost of his power, commits no sin. His peculiar duty is conquest, and he must not recede from battle; so that, while he defends by his arms the merchant and husbandman, he may levy the legal tax as the price of protection. The tax on the mercantile class, which in times of prosperity, must be only a twelfth part of their crops, and a fiftieth of their personal profits, may be an eighth of their crops in a time of distress, or a sixth, which is the medium, or even a fourth in great public adversity; but a twentieth of their gains on money, and other moveables, is the highest tax: serving-men, artisans, and mechanics must assist by their labour, but at no time pay taxes.’ Manu, Chap. x. 118, 19, 20. ‘By low handicraftsmen, artificers, and servile men, who support themselves by labour, the king may cause work to be done for a day in each month.’ Manu, Chap. vii. 138.

\* *Ayeen Akbery*, p. 347. *Mill's British India*, 4to. edition, vol. i. p. 176.

† Mr. Robinson says, ‘It appears upon the authority of Sir Thomas Munro, that in the districts of the Hindu chieftains of the Northern Circars, descended from the ancient sovereigns of Orissa, and in other Hindu States, the same rule of assessment prevails as in other parts of India, fluctuating from two to three-fifths of the gross produce.’ *An account of the Land Revenue of British India*, by Francis Horsley Robinson, Esq., p. 18.



and revenue; indeed the ravages of famine, pestilence, and war; the breaking up of old dynasties, and the creation of new ones, wrought in them no radical change; the name, limits, interests, families, and economy of the village continued the same through all the calamities and revolutions which the country experienced. As such corporations are gradually passing away, even in Asiatic kingdoms independent of British rule, a few more details respecting them may be mentioned. The head-man of the village was appointed by the sovereign, but in the course of time, like most things pertaining to Hindus, his office became hereditary; on the death of the father his eldest son succeeded him, on obtaining the formal recognition of the crown, and, as the custom of applying to the Government for its sanction gradually dropped out of use, its acquiescence in the act was taken for granted; hence the office seldom passed from one family to another, unless the transfer was imperatively called for by extraordinary circumstances. The head-man was authorized to collect the rent and remit it to the public treasury; for the whole amount he was responsible to the government, but when there happened to be a deficit, it was met by every farmer paying his proportion of it, which was estimated by his rental. The defaulting parties had to liquidate their arrears in a reasonable time or forfeit their land. The village-chief was likewise required to superintend the police, settle disputes, and award punishments for small offences. In all important cases he was aided by a court of arbitration composed of members who were chosen for their experience and probity. From its decisions appeals might be made to the magistrates and judges, but they were of rare occurrence.

Each rural community had power to levy taxes, or set apart particular fields and devote the proceeds from the sale of the crops to the following objects, the repairs of temples, daily performance of religious ceremonies, offering of sacrifices, and the celebration of festivals; keeping in good condition pools and watercourses used for agricultural purposes; the maintenance of priests, schoolmasters, carpenters, smiths, washermen, barbers, constables, watchmen, and other persons whose services were occasionally necessary, such as doctors, midwives, musicians, and dancing-girls. Neither Hindus nor Mohammedans, who are accounted respectable, dance, as to take a personal part in the amusement, would be considered degrading; accordingly they employ at their rejoicings professional persons, who in their songs, attitudes, and motions often ignore the proprieties of life, stimulate the lowest passions, ridicule virtuous characters, and encourage the profligate in his evil courses. They



are among the most powerful agents that corrupt the morals of society. In some districts the musician, instead of being directly recompensed by the municipality, paid a small tax for the privilege of exercising his art, and it was stipulated in his contract that no other person should be engaged, and that his sole remuneration should be the gratuities of the individuals and families that called him to play.

It may here be proper briefly to notice the objections brought against the proprietary right of the sovereign to the land. It is argued that such a right would be a serious discouragement in agricultural pursuits, and would retard the well-being of the peasantry and the general prosperity of the country. If justly exercised, though some evils might flow from it, they would not be of a grave character. The king is not empowered by the laws of nature or those of the realm to do what is injurious to his subjects, he is laid under solemn obligations to regulate his procedure by the principles of equity, and to have a regard in all he does to the real good of the people over whom he reigns. It is possible that, while acknowledging a code of the highest morals, and giving expression to the most benevolent sentiments, he may be guilty of acts of oppression; but this may also be affirmed of landlords who are in a less exalted position, and the transgression of the law does not invalidate a right, it calls for a remedy that shall redress the grievance which is the subject of complaint, and such redress if not given is sure in the course of time to be extorted; for even when the administration of justice is the most defective, and the courts are virtually closed against the poor, there is a point beyond which oppression cannot go without evoking a spirit of resistance; when suffering becomes intolerable, men rise against the inflictors of it whether of royal, aristocratic, or plebeian blood, and self-interest dictates to the holders of property the necessity of conceding to reasonable demands when longer non-compliance is likely to be injurious to themselves. There are of course rich persons who observe the golden rule, doing in all things as they would wish others to do to them; but, generally speaking, a sliding scale of morals, moving up and down with the change of circumstances, is adopted, what is right is not so much the question as what can be done, not how much equity requires to be left to tenants to procure the necessaries and comforts of life for their families, but how much can be wrung from them. Some Hindu kings proceeded in this manner and reaped the legitimate fruits of their doings. The peasantry sank into abject poverty, and their numerical strength greatly declined,

vast tracts were thrown out of cultivation, depopulated and resigned to beasts of prey, the revenue was not forthcoming, and the acts of violence to which recourse was had to obtain it further impoverished the kingdom. Such painful facts prove not that these sovereigns had no proprietary right to the soil, but that in the exercise of it they remembered neither justice nor mercy.

While the assessment was punctually paid, the cultivators were not, except under very extraordinary circumstances, deprived of their lands, and after being in possession many years, it became customary to regard them as hereditary tenants. Though the law never pronounced them such, the assumption of the title was tacitly allowed, because it did not injure, but rather benefited the state by securing the constant occupancy of the land, and the prompt realization of the revenue. Hence arose the supposed power to let, sell, mortgage, or will away their farms. As the exercise of this power did not affect the interests of the crown, it was not made the subject of inquiry, and after being long permitted, custom gave it something like the force of law, when to have interfered with it would have been an unwise, unjust, and perhaps a dangerous policy. From this an inference has been drawn that the ryots possessed a proprietary right to the soil, but in these transactions what was let, sold, mortgaged, or bequeathed? Was it the land itself or only the usufruct of it? Doubtless the latter only, for no redemption from the payment of rent was obtained, and consequently no property in the land acquired; the new tenant occupied the same position as his predecessor and was under the same pecuniary obligations to the crown. If for religious, civil, military, or other services which the holder of a farm rendered, these obligations were annulled, it was an act of grace on the part of the sovereign, and the farm was thenceforward designated in the government records '*lakhraj*,\*' a name which distinguished it from other lands, and which freeholds have borne from the most remote age to the present times.

The foregoing observations relate to the general mode in which this prerogative of the crown was employed, but in a country of such vast dimensions, and inhabited by heterogeneous races who held little intercourse with each other, a perfect uniformity of practice did not prevail. The manner of conducting the internal affairs of states varied, but to notice every line of policy adopted would occupy too much of the reader's time; one example may however be sufficient to prove that in regions far dis-

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\* *Lakhraj*, land which pays no rent to government, freehold.



tant from each other, the proprietary right to the soil might be exercised in different ways. 'One of the principal of the Rajpoot rulers of Central India, Zalim Singh, has a revenue system which, like that of his government, is entirely suited to his personal character. He manages a kingdom like a farm: he is the banker who makes the advances to the cultivators, as well as the ruler to whom they pay revenue; and his terms of interest are as high as those of the most sordid money-brokers. This places the cultivators much in his power; and to increase this dependence, he has belonging to himself several thousand ploughs, with hired labourers, who are not only employed in recovering waste lands, but sent on the instant to till those fields which the peasantry object to cultivate from deeming the rent too high. This system has, no doubt, spread cultivation, and increased the revenue; but it has been hard upon the husbandmen.'\*

The Mohammedans, like their predecessors, claimed the proprietary right to the soil, and, making some changes in the executive department, adopted the system of revenue which they found established. Instead of seizing the farms of the vanquished, it was their general policy to leave them in undisturbed possession, on condition of giving a money-equivalent for the payment in kind of the sovereign's part of the produce. The portion of the crown was fixed according to the fertility of the different lands, and the value of the crops grown, and may have averaged one-third.† In each province the emperor appointed a receiver-general who was next in rank to the viceroy. It was his duty to realize and disburse the revenue, issue pay to the army and the respective branches of the civil service, check every unnecessary expense, audit all accounts, and transmit them to the chief financial minister at the imperial treasury. In addition to the demands of the crown he had power to levy on husbandmen, in proportion to their rent, imposts for the

\* *Memoir on Central India*, by Sir John Malcolm, vol. ii. pp. 62-3.

† The Hidāyā says, 'This tax ought not to exceed what the land can afford to pay. Our jurists have declared that the utmost the land can afford to pay is one-half the produce, and more than this cannot be taken. If the land cannot afford to pay one-half, the Prince must take less, for to take less is lawful, but to take more than one-half is unlawful.'

Mr. Robinson says, 'The highest rent that in practice can be taken, and then only in first-rate lands commanding a good market, is one-half the produce. The average is two-thirds to the cultivator, and one-third for rent. Inferior lands, or lands in thinly peopled tracts, without ready markets, give only a fourth, fifth, or a sixth of the produce as rent.' *An account of the Land Revenue of British India*, p. 19. 'The sovereign's full share is now reckoned at one-half; and a country is reckoned moderately assessed where he takes only one-third.' Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 71.



maintenance of priests, mosques, schools, caravanserais, highways, and bridges. His subordinates were responsible to him for the taxes of the districts committed to their charge. Each of these had officers under him who, according to the written instructions contained in the instrument he gave them, were authorized for one year or a longer period to collect the ground-rent of a district, city, town, village, or single estate, receiving in the shape of remuneration a certain percentage on the amount realized.\* When the stipulated time elapsed, the document became legally void, and he might withdraw, modify, or renew it as the interests of the state rendered expedient. This discretionary power was not always purely exercised. Though not actually put up to auction, these instruments were sometimes sold to the highest bidders, who reimbursed themselves for the price they paid by levying illegal cesses. To remedy this evil the register of rents was ordered to be kept open in every district for the inspection of the people, that they might distinguish the demands of the crown from the extortions of the tax-gatherers. In some places this well-intentioned edict was productive of salutary effects, but in others it was a dead letter, and rather injured than improved the condition of the peasantry, because the local officers of the government demanded a larger sum for their connivance at the collectors' evasions of the law, and these repaid themselves by increased exactions; so that the cultivators of the soil reaped only a small portion of the fruits of their labour. While they afforded the sustenance of life to all classes of the people and largely contributed to the revenue of the state by the sweat of their brow, a condition little above poverty, and commanding few comforts, was, generally speaking, the most they could expect. The painful conviction of toiling for others depressed their spirits and caused them to relax those industrious efforts from a participation in the beneficial results of which they were almost entirely excluded; as extraordinary harvests brought extraordinary burdens, they were not coveted but rather dreaded; the cultivators wished the produce of their fields both in quality and quantity to be always the same, that they might be spared increased exactions.

In proof of the proprietary right of the sovereign we may adduce the fact of estates being assigned for money-payments which, when the sum was realized by the receipt of the rents reverted to the crown; to estates given for a limited time or in

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\* The remuneration is supposed to have been ten per cent.

perpetuity to reward the services of generals and cabinet ministers. Rival princes when contending for power were lavish in their donations of land; the family of Baber alienated in this way, it has been estimated, a third part of the empire.\* To this prodigal waste of the pecuniary resources of the realm there was, however, a check, but it was founded on injustice and exercised with violence. In times of anarchy the man who with his sword cut his way to the throne not unfrequently coveted the largesses made by his predecessor and forcibly resumed them. Evidence equally conclusive in support of the proprietary right we are considering is afforded by grants to less exalted characters than great captains and sage counsellors, to courtesans and devotees, favourites of sovereigns addicted to superstition or pleasure. 'One of the most beautiful and flourishing villages I ever saw', says Mr. Forbes, 'had, with its surrounding districts, been given to a set of dancing-girls; another of similar population and fertility, belonged to a tribe of Gosannees, or Hindu mendicants.'†

The British by degrees crushed the Mogul power and as conquerors became owners of the land. In dispossessing farmers who fail to pay their rent, in remitting, diminishing, increasing, or permanently fixing the assessment, and in granting estates to reward native princes, civil and military officers, they exercise the proprietary right to the soil as Hindu and Mohammedan sovereigns did before them.

*Importance of Agriculture.*—Agriculture is the most ancient of arts. The first mention of it is found in the writings of Moses, where we learn that 'Cain was a tiller of the ground, and that Noah began to be a husbandman, and planted a vineyard.' It is likewise an art almost universally practised, it is followed in nearly every region of the globe, and has been, in all countries which have emerged from barbarism, the precursor of civilization. Without it mankind would be roaming over the wilds of Nature in search of an uncertain subsistence by the chase, and have no better habitations to shelter them from the scorching heat, the piercing cold, and the drenching rain than what the woods, the dens, and caves of the earth afforded. It is indispensable to the existence of a state, and

\* Dow's *Hindustan*, Vol. iii. p. 28.

† *Oriental Memoirs*, by James Forbes, Esq., revised by his daughter, the Countess De Montalembert, Vol. ii. p. 47. Mr. Forbes was in India from 1766 to 1784.



also to its prosperity and freedom; for, however highly trade and commerce may be appreciated, unless necessary food to support the inhabitants be produced at home, no nation can be secure and independent; the continuance of its welfare must rest on the friendly policy of corn-growing countries, and in the event of an interruption of amicable relations being followed by a declaration of war, there will be no alternative except submission to the terms they may please to dictate, or the endurance of the horrors of famine. Numerical strength, bravery, and skill cannot conquer hunger; against this invincible foe veteran troops are as unsuccessful combatants as the rawest soldier; hence the most celebrated nations of antiquity highly respected husbandry, and framed laws to encourage it. In the various classes into which the people of China are divided, agriculturists are placed in the second rank, immediately after men of letters, and before mechanics and merchants; and, to cause their occupation to be held in honour, it has been a yearly custom, observed from time immemorial, for the emperor, followed by the court and in the presence of the citizens of the metropolis, to plough a small piece of land;\* the ceremony is preceded by his sacrificing a bullock to the *manes* of the sage Confucius, and in these acts of labour and worship the viceroys in the provinces copy the example of the sovereign.† Agricultural pursuits were not only much esteemed by the people of ancient Rome, but the practice of tilling their paternal estates was found compatible with a fitness to guide the deliberations of the senate, and command the legions in battle, and some of their most illustrious men in the civil and military services were called from the plough. To promote the interests of agriculture, the ancient Egyptians made a network of canals, by which the waters of the Nile are distributed for the purposes of irrigation, whose alluvial deposit is more fertilizing than the richest

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\* This Governmental system of regulating rank and honour could not, however, exercise any perceptible influence on the market-price of labour; in China, as in every other part of the world, the skilful artisan has always commanded higher wages than the ploughman.

† 'There are upwards of 1,560 temples dedicated to Confucius; and, at the spring and autumnal sacrifices, there are offered to him 6 bullocks, 27,000 pigs, 5,800 sheep, 2,800 deer, and 27,000 rabbits; making a total of 62,606 animals, immolated annually to the *manes* of Confucius, besides 27,600 pieces of silk: all provided by the Government, in addition to the numerous offerings presented to him by private individuals.' *China: its State and Prospects*: by the Rev. Dr. Medhurst, p. 193.



perpetuity to reward the services of generals and commanders. Rival princes when contending for power were their donations of land; the family of Baber alienated in this way, it has been estimated, a third part of the empire. This prodigal waste of the pecuniary resources of the empire was, however, a check, but it was founded on injustice, and sanctioned with violence. In times of anarchy the man with his sword cut his way to the throne not unfrequently at the expense of the largesses made by his predecessor and forced on them. Evidence equally conclusive in support of the right we are considering is afforded by grants to persons of inferior characters than great captains and sage counsellors, to favourites and devotees, favourites of sovereigns addicted to dissipation and pleasure. 'One of the most beautiful and flourishing provinces I ever saw', says Mr. Forbes, 'had, with its surrounding, been given to a set of dancing-girls; another of similar character, and fertility, belonged to a tribe of Gosannees, mendicants.' †

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† *Oriental Memoirs*, by James Forbes, Esq., revised by Countess De Montalembert, Vol. ii. p. 47. Mr. Forbes says that the grant was made from 1766 to 1784.

manure.\* This celebrated river was regarded as the tutelar deity of the country, and honoured with the solemnities of worship; at the time of the inundation sacrifices were presented, and oblations of fruit, lotus-flowers, sugar, corn, and barley strewed on the water, vast multitudes filled the air with shouts of joy, and the sounds of festivity, of music, of the dance and song, were heard throughout the day. The canals constructed by the ancient sovereigns of Hindustan to distribute, for the purposes of irrigation, the waters of the Ganges and of other rivers, though less celebrated than those of Egypt, were formed with the same design, to promote the welfare of the cultivators of the soil, and through them the good of the country at large.† Nearly all modern nations pay great attention to agricultural interests; they abolish or modify the statutes relating to them, or frame new ones as necessity appears to dictate; to diminish the cost of producing the fruits of the earth, and enable the farmer to dispose of them at a lower rate, while realizing himself an augmentation of profit, they grant patents for inventions which shorten and cheapen labour, for ploughing, sowing, harrowing, reaping, and threshing machines.

*The manner in which the English exercised the proprietary right to the soil.*—The East India Company, notwithstanding its defects, was better than any preceding government, and in many of its acts reflected honour on the English name, but on its general administration we purpose not to dwell, and shall confine ourselves to the manner in which it exercised the proprietary right

\* The component parts of the alluvial deposit, according to the Analysis given by Regnault in the 'Memoires sur l'Egypte,' are—

11	Water.
9	Carbon.
6	Oxide of Iron.
4	Silica.
4	Carbonate of Magnesia.
18	„ Lime.
48	Alumen.

100.

Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 50.

† The great benefit to the country of the Ganges canal will appear from the following statement made by the Superintendent-General of Irrigation, in the North-West Provinces, in his Report of 1860-61:—

'The total outlay on this gigantic work, together with that expended on its maintenance and repairs, may be represented at Rs. 3,23,86,636. The direct revenue paid into the Government treasury was Rs. 1,42,45,258, or not far from one-half of the outlay; and the indirect revenue in the shape of crops to the country for one single year amounted to no less than Rs. 6,03,06,287, or nearly double the whole outlay—including maintenance and repairs for several years.'—*Bengal Hurkaru*, 28th October 1863.



to the soil. Before the British as conquerors came into possession of the several parts of India, the emperor held the sceptre with a feeble hand, the viceroys in regions far distant from Delhi paid him allegiance only of a nominal character, occasionally set his authority at defiance, broke out into rebellion, and fought for the sovereignty of the provinces they were deputed to govern; revolutions and the ravages of war naturally caused agriculture, trade, and commerce to decline, and the vast amount of treasure exported to Europe by individuals, and the Dutch, Danish, French, and English Companies, rendered capital scarce when it was much needed. To mitigate these evils, and accelerate the return of prosperity, wisdom dictated the adoption of a lenient and liberal policy, but the one pursued was of a stringent nature. It appears to have been the chief aim of the English to draw from the land as much rent as could be obtained. Those who were unable or reluctant to pay the increased assessment had to leave their estates. Farmers of revenue were sent into the districts, who agreed to pay a fixed amount for the tract of country assigned them, and those who offered the most were preferred. As their appointment seldom lasted longer than a year, they put forth every effort to realize not only the assessment, but a large surplus for themselves, and this was accomplished by rack-renting the peasantry. The tribunals were accessible, but applying to them involved great loss both of money and time, and as the Magistrate himself was interested in keeping up the revenue, his promotion in the service being often made to depend on it, there could be no certainty of their grievances being redressed, and every unsuccessful appeal exposed them to greater hardships, until they became the special objects on whom the oppressor wreaked his vengeance. Like a landholder who, considering his title to his estate invalid, and apprehensive he will not be permitted to remain long in possession, endeavours to make the most of it while in power, the Directors managed their territorial acquisitions on the principle of obtaining immediate profit, without regard to the measures they adopted, which at no distant period could not fail to exhaust the sources of revenue, and impoverish the country. In their instructions to the Governments at the respective Presidencies, they continually called for larger remittances; and those of their servants who showed much zeal in augmenting the revenue, rose in their estimation and were rewarded by being placed in lucrative offices; while those who made promises of increase which they found themselves unable to perform, were visited with their displeasure. Thus the way was clearly indicated in which their approbation might be





and cattle ; often compelled the people to labour in their service without wages ; exacted fines for frivolous offences, and frequently for offences which they knew had not been committed, indeed the crime consisted in possessing anything which insatiable avarice coveted. These, however, were not the only sufferings borne ; the soldiers and the numerous followers of the Collector's camp, billeting themselves on the peasantry, seized everything they wanted, and paid for nothing ; like swarms of locusts destroying all the productions of the earth on which they alight, they passed through the country, everywhere leaving the inhabitants in a state of increased wretchedness. Not a few of the cultivators, reduced to the last extremity, and in utter despair of their grievances ever being redressed, fled from the Company's possessions into the territories of independent princes ; many of those who still clung to their homesteads, notwithstanding the sufferings they endured, were obliged to dispose of their cattle to meet the pressing demands of the revenue officers, and, with no oxen to plough, a large portion of their land lay waste, and the little they did bring under tillage was dug with the spade, which from its great expense proved an unremunerative mode of cultivation. At last the Collectors found it impossible to realize the assessment, for, though they still freely applied torture and were deaf to the cries of distress everywhere heard around them, nothing more could be wrung from the down-trodden peasantry ; thus circumstanced they were unable to fulfil their contracts ; to escape increased exactions they had before often pleaded poverty, but the threat or infliction of chastisement had proved it in almost every case to be feigned ; now, though their inability to pay was real, it was yet not credited ; accordingly to draw the money out of them they were subjected to indignities of the most humiliating character, and to punishments of great severity, in the endurance of which not a few of them expired in agony. These punishments varied with the changing passions of the fiend who ordered them to be inflicted. The defaulting Collector, with his wife and children, might be forced to renounce his ancestral faith and embrace the religion of his oppressors ; or have guards placed over him to prevent him from eating or drinking till he had settled his accounts ; be bastinadoed or suspended to a tree or beam by the feet ; if it were summer be compelled to sit in the sun to be scorched by its rays, and if winter be stripped naked and have buckets of cold water frequently poured over him ; be imprisoned, starved, and tortured ; or, having a rope tied under the arms, be dragged through a pond filled with all uncleanness, the odour of which almost suffocated him ; in contempt of the religion of



the sufferer this pool of filth was called *Baikunt*, the Hindu paradise. It is true these outrages were not wrought directly by the European officers of the Company, they were the work of the native receivers-general; but, though not the perpetrators of the wickedness, they admitted the money it produced into the public treasury, and were therefore responsible for the cruelties by which it was extorted. The receivers-general, finding many of the European officers too indolent to examine the accounts which were submitted for their inspection, embraced the opportunity of amassing large fortunes, and not only themselves peculated, but when their connivance was purchased at a high price, shut their eyes to gigantic robberies perpetrated by others. Dexterous in the art of deception, and prepared to adopt every means to plunder the Government, the frauds and oppression committed in the collection of the revenue, threatened to make the most fertile province in the world a barren desert. Generally speaking, the courts of justice were worse than useless, for the native officials were bribed to work them as engines of cruelty to stifle the cries of the poor who came for redress, and to punish them for their temerity. If an appeal were addressed to the Governor and Council, it was the usual course to forward the complaint to the persons against whom it was lodged, the receivers-general or their subordinates, who, calling to their aid chicanery, forgery, and perjury, to make the charge appear ill-founded, in nearly every case accomplished their object, so that the petitioner had still to endure his wrongs, and in addition to them the vengeance of the tyrants whose wrath his accusations had kindled. Most of the European officers, even in that period of great laxity of morals, were distinguished for probity and honour, but some were guilty of the prevailing crime of peculation, for they returned home with fortunes, which, considering their amount and the short time in which they had been accumulated, could not have been honestly acquired. A few civilians, upright and noble-spirited, condemned the unjust and suicidal policy adopted, pointed out how it was depressing trade and commerce, diminishing the area of cultivation, and depopulating vast tracts of territory. Little attention, however, was paid to their remonstrances, and, instead of being thanked for their faithfulness, they were given to understand that they had stepped beyond their province, and failed in respect to their masters, for the Directors continued to regard the resources of the country as inexhaustible, and every augmented remittance they received, as they were ignorant of the manner in which it was raised, served to strengthen the delusion. Therefore, though actually in debt, in antici-



pation of an increased revenue, they announced to the proprietary body a dividend on their capital of twelve per cent. per annum, the highest rate of interest permitted by law. But dreams of unlimited wealth were not to be realized, the glowing pictures which had been presented to the view gradually faded away, and gave place to stern realities, every vessel that came from the East brought unwelcome intelligence, and the despatches spoke in alarming language of the condition of the agriculturists, the complete disorganization of society, numerous and powerful bands of robbers ravaging the rural districts, whose desolating progress the Government was too weak to arrest, the prevalent crime of pecculation, a balance of a million pounds sterling of unpaid rent, an empty treasury, and enormous debts contracted to keep the machinery of the State going and ward off impending bankruptcy. As they received few remittances, a crisis in their affairs came sooner than they could have apprehended, for on looking into their exchequer they found they were unable to the extent of £1,293,000 to meet payments which were falling due. In this emergency they applied to the Bank of England for £700,000, but it lent them only £200,000. They then laid a statement of their pecuniary difficulties before the Prime Minister, and solicited from parliament the loan of a million pounds. This application led to an inquiry into the conduct of the Company, in which disclosures were made of its mal-administration at home and abroad which excited the indignation of the public. At last a loan of £1,400,000 was offered, on conditions, however, which they deemed harsh and humiliating, but to which their necessitous circumstances obliged them to submit. The picture of their territories given in former despatches being proved by subsequent accounts to be as true as it was dark, they awoke to a proper sense of their position, and at once forwarded instructions to India, commanding remedial measures to be instantly taken.

Orders were given to remove the treasury from the city of Moorshedabad to Calcutta, to dispense with the native receivers-general, and collect the revenue through the European officers of the Company. The lands were to be let on leases of five years' duration, and a supervising committee, consisting of four members, was to travel through the rural districts, and after personal intercourse with the people, fix the rent which they should pay per acre for their holdings, regulating the amount according to the nature of the soil, and the value of the crops grown. These measures were dictated by a wise and benevolent spirit, and, had they been carried out in their integrity, the cultivators who were groaning under very heavy burdens, would have been

favoured in a short time with returning prosperity ; but no sooner did the supervisors enter on their important duties than they became oblivious of the object for which they had been appointed ; that object was to make reasonable reductions where the rents were oppressive, but as in the judgment of those gentlemen what was offered for the land appeared often below its real value, they actually put it up to auction, and let it to the highest bidder, whether he were the holder or a stranger. Such a procedure rather deepened the wretchedness of the people than ameliorated their condition, and was strongly condemned by the Directors, who in their letter to the President and Council at Fort William, dated the 7th of April 1773, thus expressed their displeasure, ' We wish we could refute the observation, that ' almost every attempt made by us and our administrations at ' your Presidency, for the reforming of abuses, has rather increased them, and added to the miseries of the country we are ' anxious to protect and cherish. The truth of this observation appears fully in the late appointment of supervisors ' and chiefs—instituted as they were, to give relief to the industrious tenants, are not the tenants, more than ever oppressed and wretched ? ' Being overtaxed, the country was greatly impoverished, and imperatively called for a reduction in the revenue, while very few of the contractors had been able to pay the high price which they had offered for the estates they farmed, so that in April 1777, when the leases expired, the balances, of which the greater part was deemed irrecoverable, amounted to £1,292,691, although £1,187,957-12 of rent had previously been remitted. The Governor-General recommended that the lands should be let on leases for lives, and Mr. Francis proposed to establish a fixed, invariable rent. Both of these modes were submitted to the Court of Directors, who did not think it advisable to adopt either, but sent out instructions prohibiting the lands being any longer put up to auction, ordering them to be let for one year on the most advantageous terms, and a preference to be given to natives residing on the spot, and not to allow Europeans, personally or by their agents, to obtain in farm a single acre of the Company's possessions. Respecting the execution of these commands, the contending parties in the Government of India differed in opinion, Mr. Hastings maintaining that the lands should be offered at the assessment of the preceding year, and such as were not taken be advertised, and sealed tenders received for them ; while Mr. Francis considered the rent-roll of the last year too high, and sealed tenders a virtual auction. These discussions were terminated by the arrival of a despatch



from England in which the average of the collections of the three preceding years was fixed as the basis of the new settlement, and in this manner the rent was annually renewed till 1781, when the provincial councils were superseded by a Committee of Revenue formed in Calcutta and composed of five\* covenanted servants. This Committee managed the whole financial affairs of the country, determined all questions on which a difference of opinion arose by a majority of votes, and submitted to the Supreme Council a monthly report of its proceedings. The gentlemen who composed it, in estimating the capabilities of different kinds of land to pay revenue, neither went on a tour of inspection through the rural districts themselves, nor employed other persons to make necessary inquiries, but took the rent-accounts of preceding years as the basis of their calculations, although it was well known that in many cases the former rates were oppressively high, and had caused vast tracts to be thrown out of cultivation, the ryots finding the retaining of them on such disadvantageous terms ruinous. To fix the rent at a rate just both to the Government and the people, they not only needed comprehensive knowledge, firmness, and great probity, but it was absolutely necessary to keep in perfect abeyance everything of a self-interested character; notwithstanding which a powerful pecuniary incentive was set before them, which, though not with the design of biasing their judgment, had certainly that effect. As a stimulus to labour, the members of the Committee and their principal assistants were allowed a percentage on the amount of revenue realized, two per cent. on the sums paid into the Calcutta treasury, and one on those paid into the country treasuries. As their promotion in the service depended on the pleasure of the Government, and in gaining its approbation by increasing the revenue they enriched themselves, the farmers were sacrificed to a spirit of ambition and cupidity, and the wretchedness of the country greatly augmented. In expressing their disapprobation of the conduct of their revenue officers, the Directors wrote, 'A moderate assessment, regularly and punctually collected, unites the considerations of our interests with the happiness of the natives, and security of the landholders, more rationally than any imperfect collection of an exaggerated assessment, to be enforced with severity and vexation.' They therefore ordered a lighter assessment to be made for a period of ten

\* Mill says the committee was composed of only four persons, (*History of British India*, 4to. vol. ii. p. 588;) but Grant says the number was five, *Sketch of the History of the East India Company*, p. 351.



years, which was announced to the public in 1789, and, after three years' experience of the manner in which it worked, was declared on the 22nd of March 1793, to be permanent. The settlement comprehended Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares.\* The rent of these provinces was fixed for ever at £3,509,530.

The persons who had hitherto been employed year by year in the capacity of collectors, receiving in the shape of remuneration ten per cent. on the revenue realized, and who had no claim whatever to the land, were constituted perpetual farmers of the rents of the estates assigned them. This, however, did not, as some writers have conjectured, in any way affect the proprietary right of the Crown; for the settlement did not transfer the land itself from the State to individuals, it only determined what rent individuals were to pay for the usufruct of it, and made the lease perpetual, and that nothing more was contemplated is apparent from the following fact, of which every one acquainted with rural affairs in India must be cognizant. On tenants falling into arrears the usufruct of the land lapses to Government, and is re-let to others on the same or dissimilar conditions as circumstances dictate; that in all such cases the use of the land is justly forfeited has never once been questioned, and what stronger proof could be advanced to establish the right of the sovereign to the soil?

The subject of the permanent settlement had been long under consideration, and the covenanted servants of the Company had been requested to communicate to the Supreme Council all information relating to it which they could obtain in the respective districts in which they were located; much of what they forwarded was, however, derived from their native subordinates, many of whom had an interested motive in keeping them in the dark; hence it formed a very unsuitable basis for so important an act of legislation. Still, with the ancient rent-rolls

\* Bengal, Behar, and Benares had then an area of only 162,000 square miles, in acres 103,680,000, in bighas of 80 square cubits, 12,545,280,000; the following proportions of this surface are grounded on many surveys after making allowance for large rivers:—

Rivers and lakes (one-eighth) ... ..	3 parts
Deemed irreclaimable and barren (one-sixth) ... ..	4 "
Site of towns and villages, highways, ponds, &c. (one twenty-fourth) ... ..	1 "
Free lands (three twenty-fourths) ... ..	3 "
Remaining liable for revenue in tillage (three-eighths) ... ..	9 "
Waste (one-sixth) ... ..	4 "

24 parts

*Hamilton's Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 2.

in the possession of the State, it was the only one which could then be procured; it therefore naturally followed that some lands were over-rated, and others under-rated; that the data on which the assessment was formed were very erroneous, will appear from the great inequality in the price at which estates were sold in 1810. In some districts the price was enormous, and in others a mere trifle.

In Sarun	it was	331	year's purchase.
„ Rungpore	„	245	„
„ Tirhoot	„	185	„
„ Chittagong	„	93	„
„ Burdwan	„	46	„
„ Shahabad	„	21	„
„ Tipperah	„	11	„
„ Dacca	„	8	„
„ Nuddea	„	4	„
„ Moorshedabad,	„	1	„
The average price was in Behar		67	„
„ Orissa		53	„
„ Bengal		23	„

In one single year, 1796, the land fallen into arrears\* and advertised for sale was nearly one-tenth of the whole of Bengal and Behar, and the rent of it amounted to £287,006-2; but this was owing perhaps not so much to the inequality in the assessment as to the want of legal means to obtain rent from the ryots. Exhibiting a partiality in the administration of justice which it still manifests in its statute for the sale of land and its opium contract-law, the Government, for the satisfaction of its own claims, adopted a judicial process which was summary, but left the landholder to realize his through a process which was costly, tardy, and uncertain. The landholder was required to send in his rent every month, and, in the event of his failing to do so, the Collector might dispose of his estate by auction; if therefore the farmers were dilatory in their payments, or did not pay at all till prosecuted, he necessarily fell into arrears, and suffered the consequences. If he sued them in the civil court, redress, if obtained, was long deferred, owing to the vast number of cases on the file, and, when it came, perhaps found him ruined by waiting for it. In confirmation of the truth of this statement we may here mention the following fact, and others of a similar nature might be brought forward. In the district of Burdwan, in the short space of two years, the accumulation of undecided cases, pending before the Judge,

\* See Hamilton's Hindostan, vol. i. p. 70.



exceeded thirty thousand. Regulation VII. of 1799 remedied these evils, and postponed the sale of estates for arrears of rent to the end of the current year, and, that the landholder might in the meantime be able to obtain from his tenants what was due, it invested him with power to distrain the property of defaulters. That the difficulty of realizing rent, in a country where it is withheld as long as possible, and seldom paid without pressure, was then, as it is now, considerable, and required such a measure to remove it, may be readily conceded; but to permit the landholder to take the law into his own hands to protect his pecuniary interests, and to unite in his own person the judge, the jury, the constable, and the jailor, was a violation of the first principles of justice; it was doubtless the province of Government to execute the statute by a swift and cheap process, and not to delegate its authority to others; and in thus resigning its proper functions it acknowledged either its incompetence to administer the enactment, or, what is still worse, its indifference to the manner in which it might be perverted. After being in operation ten years, this objectionable statute was somewhat modified, notice was required to be given of the intention to distrain, and implements of husbandry, and cattle used for ploughing were exempted from seizure. Though sales for arrears were less frequent, they did not altogether cease, but some, if not many, were perhaps caused by the negligence or avarice of the landholders. If ryots, rack-rented and oppressed in other ways beyond the point of endurance, fled, and the estate became a desert, it of course ceased to be remunerative, fell into arrears, and was sold. If landholders, living in indolence and luxury, exercised no supervision over their affairs, they reaped the fruits of their negligence, speculating agents reduced them to beggary, and in some instances bought their forfeited estates with the money of which they had robbed them.

What proportion the assessment bore to the rent received from the cultivators, is difficult, and perhaps impossible to ascertain. The Company contemplated, it has been affirmed, obtaining ten-elevenths\* of the rent, regulating the profit of the landholder by the rate of remuneration which had been given him as collector of revenue; but, owing to the gross ignorance in which the settlement was made, it turned out to be of a more liberal character. In a few years the over-rated lands were allowed to revert to Government to get rid of the pecuniary loss which kept the holders involved, and the estates which were retained were found, with able and economical management, to

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\* *Land Revenue of British India*, by F. H. Robinson, Esq., p. 26.

yield not only sufficient to meet the demands of the revenue-officer, but a fair profit to the holders of them, as their average net income was in the proportion of 45 to 100 of the rent paid to Government.\* What proportion the assessment now bears to the rent, we have the means of fairly estimating. On an examination of the accounts of all the estates managed by the Court of Wards, it was found to be about one-half, and, as there is nothing peculiar in these estates, this may be taken as the average. There are of course exceptions to the above. Lands that, owing to ignorance of their measurement, were much under-rated at first, and have since greatly risen in value by improvements made in them, pay a very small proportion of revenue. A fourth share of a property in Mymensingh, the assessment of which is 30,000 rupees, was brought under the Court of Wards, when it was let in farm for Rs. 75,000, and the person who took it received in rent Rs. 90,000. Mr. Wise of Dacca in his evidence before the parliamentary committee, mentions an instance of an estate paying £10,000 a year to Government, and yielding the owner £60,000. A writer in one of the metropolitan journals says there are about fifteen estates in his neighbourhood which pay less than a hundredth part of their income in rent to Government; for instance, there is a village assessed at one rupee which yields six hundred, another at fourteen which gives eight hundred, and a third rated at eighteen returns seventeen hundred.† Whether, therefore, the settlement at the time of its formation were moderate or otherwise, it is comparatively light now, and, excepting the mercantile class, the landholders in the area over which it extends are the most prosperous men in India. The usufruct of the soil being secured to them on fixed terms in perpetuity has stimulated them to make improvements, and, feeling assured that they or their children will enjoy the advantages resulting from them, they regard all money thus expended as capital profitably invested. Hence millions of acres of waste have been cleared, brought under tillage, and converted into flourishing farms; no district presents more striking examples of these changes than Nuddea, once the favourite place for hunting tigers ;

\* The purchase money of the estates actually sold in 1812, amounted to 4,08,395 rupees, being at the rate of nearly forty-five years' purchase of the Zemindar's supposed profit, (malikanah,) and assuming, according to former computations, that the purchasers expect an income or interest of ten per cent. on their principal, this average would indicate, that the medium of the net income of proprietors is in the proportion of 45 to 100 of the jumma, or land-tax paid to Government. Hamilton's Hindostan, vol. i. p. 70.

† A Letter signed 'Monghyr,' *Calcutta Englishman*, 3rd May 1860.



a tiger is now seldom seen there. With the increased area of cultivation the number of the inhabitants has greatly augmented, and the awful scourge of famine, which periodically desolated the country, has ceased to visit it, though it still continues to be as frequent and calamitous as ever in other parts of India.

Admitting, however, that the permanent settlement has been advantageous to the landholder, has it been so to the cultivators of the soil? is a question which every inquiring mind will ask; as it is hardly possible for their condition to be worse than it was before the settlement was made, the answer cannot be otherwise than affirmative; but, to the question in this modified shape, has it been as advantageous as it might have been? a negative reply must be given. It has been affirmed that Lord Cornwallis, being enamoured of rank, contemplated forming of the collectors an aristocracy, and to the accomplishment of this purpose sacrificed the rights of the peasant-farmers. Whatever hopes he may have entertained of their being at some future period ennobled, he considered them at the time in no higher capacity than revenue contractors, and as such required from them stringent engagements to pay punctually to the State the fixed assessment levied on the lands assigned them, and in the event of their failing to do so, they were distinctly informed that the lands would revert to Government, be re-let by auction to the highest bidder, and pass from them and their children for ever. Moreover, before being put in possession of the land, they were required to declare that, while holding it, they would not proceed against the ryots illegally, nor in any way oppress them, so that, whatever may be the evils of the present working of the permanent settlement, at the period of its formation the cultivators of the soil were not forgotten.\*

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\* To confirm the truth of the above statements, we may adduce an extract from a lease where the terms on which the land was taken, and the position of the holders of it are clearly placed before us :—

‘ We hereby take the permanent settlement of the aforesaid land, and we voluntarily agree that we shall pay as per instalment the annual rent fixed thereupon, and possess the same from generation to generation with the power of alienation and sale, and we further agree that we shall not create any temple-lands,\* or freeholds,† and should we fail to pay the Government revenue, our rights and interests in the property should be sold by public auction according to the laws in force. In case the sale of the estate will not realize the dues of Government, we hereby undertake that any property belonging to us, whether the same be standing in our name or in the name of others,‡ shall be sold for the realization of the demands of Government, and

\* Debatra.

† Lakraj.

‡ Benami.

It must, however, be acknowledged that some of the laws framed to promote their interests rather injured than benefited them. The seventh Section of Regulation IV. of 1794 gave to tenants of one class\* the right to demand a renewal of their lease at the current rate of the neighbourhood, and while paying that rate secured to them and their heirs the occupancy in perpetuity of their homesteads and of the lands which they actually cultivated, but in the event of non-payment the law pronounced their claim both to residence and the productive power of the soil forfeited for ever. The framers of this statute appear to have thought there was a standard in every

‘we add that we shall be also liable to be arrested and imprisoned for the said dues of Government, and that neither we ourselves nor heirs will be able to impugn these terms. We also further agree that for the payment of the Government revenue we will not plead that the lands have been waste or covered by inundation, or any other similar excuse. We also agree that we shall not in any way oppress the ryots, nor proceed against them illegally. We also undertake to guard the roads and ghats, and give assistance for the arrest of plunderers, turbulent and seditious persons. Respecting the roads and embankments, we shall act according to the laws in force, or that may be in future enacted. Should the extent of the land in the estate increase by the measurement and survey of the surveyor in the Revenue department, we undertake to pay separately the rent of increased land, according to the rate herein entered.’ *Bengal Hurkaru, 7th July 1863.*

\* *Khoodkasht ryots.*—Ryot literally signifies ‘pasture, or a herd of cattle, and is applied to the subjects at large, either as being more commonly engaged in the pasturing of cattle or sheep, or as the special care of their protectors or governors, who by the same figure of speech are sometimes designated by the kindred name of Ræe or shepherd.’ Khoodkasht is derived from the Persian word Khood, self, and kashtu, sown, and literally means self-sown, or sown for one’s self. Khoodkasht land is land cultivated by ryots who have some sort of permanent interest in it, and reside in the village to which it belongs, the interest is rather vague and undefined, and it is difficult to say precisely what it is, but it seems to be no more than a right of occupancy, so long as the ryot continues to pay a certain rate of rent, which has been long established by custom, for the quality of land in his possession. Baillie’s *Land Tax of India*, Introduction, pp. 25, 30. ‘Ram Mohan Roy, an unexceptionable authority, explains Khoodkasht to mean cultivators of the lands of their own village which sums the correct interpretation, as the term is always used in contradistinction to Paikasht, or cultivators of another village.’ Elphinstone’s *History of India* p. 251.

There are tenants of another class never supposed to have a permanent interest in the soil, and who in former times did not reside in the village to which their holdings belonged, or had any share in its immunities; they were mere outsiders, having their homesteads in some other locality, but now they are often found living where their land is situated. They are designated Paikasht tenants. ‘Paikasht is derived from two Persian words, the first of which signifies “after” or “on account of,” and the second is a contraction of kashtu, “sown.”’ Baillie’s *Land Tax of India*, Introduction, p. 30.



district, and by a simple reference to it disputes that might arise would be readily adjusted. Did it, however, exist, and, if so, what was it? were questions often considered, but never satisfactorily answered, though respecting them many thousands of pounds were expended in litigation;\* and in this state of uncertainty, conjecture, which should have no authority in courts, was allowed to take the place of law, and, as might be apprehended, the most contradictory sentences were delivered from the Bench; what one declared right, another pronounced wrong, and these conflicting judgments thickened the darkness in which the subject was involved. The idea of there being a definite standard, actually regulating the amount of rent, could be entertained by no person who had maturely considered the matter in all its bearings, for the value of land, like that of every other commodity, is fixed by events which can no more be controlled in their course by legislative enactments than the currents in the ocean, and the flux and reflux of the tides. Every attempt to render that uniform which is in its nature various must signally fail; land, like every thing else, is worth what it will fetch, the tenant will not give more than the market price, and the holder cannot in equity be required to take less; the regulation of rent is a transaction between the two and does not fall within the province of Government, and interference with it, though prompted by pure benevolence, can be productive of nothing but evil. We shall resume this subject.

\* Writing in 1789 Mr. Shore observes, 'The rates not only vary in different collectorships, but in the parganas\* composing them; in the villages and in the lands of the same village.—The standard is so indeterminate that the ryots neither know what they have to pay, nor can the officers of Government, without the most difficult investigation, ascertain whether they have been imposed upon or not.' After Regulation V. of 1812, which was silently to substitute a new and definite rule in place of ancient but uncertain usages had been two years in operation, Mr. Cornish, Judge of the Patna Court of Circuit, remarks, 'The assertion may appear extraordinary, but it is nevertheless certain, that the rights of the ryots remain to this day unexplained and undefined. It is true that there is something like a provision for preventing the rents of the lands of chupperbund, or khoodkasht, ryots from being raised, unless the Zemindar can prove that they have paid less for them, for the last three years, than the nirikh† of the pargana. But what is this nirikh, or how to be ascertained? It is a mere name, and of no kind of use in securing the rights of the ryots.'

\* Parganas,—divisions of a district.

† Nirikh,—rate.

ART. IV.—*Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 1863-4.*

‘WE will conclude,’ (says Lord Coke in closing his Institutes) ‘with the aphorism of that great lawyer and sage of the law, (Edmund Plowden) which we have heard him often say, “Blessed be the Amending Hand.”’ The last Session of the Governor-General’s Council has been distinguished by several important enactments, and the pruning-hook has been applied with right good will to many of the old branches of the tree of Indian jurisprudence. A vigorous step has been taken onward in the march of legislative progress, not unworthy of the advance of the last few years, and the next Session promises to be worthy of its predecessor. India has now a Penal Code founded on the criminal experience of all nations. What was good has been culled from Great Britain, from France, from America, and elsewhere. All able jurists have contributed their share, and the genius of a man who has passed away, but will not soon be forgotten, moulded the portions into the shape and form of a Code, that—deride it who will—smiles at the tangled web of English criminal law composed of infinite statutes and minutely differing precedents. The experience of more than two years has proved the law to work well; and when the long-threatened codification of English criminal law shall be effected, we are curious to see how far it will excel the work already executed for India. The Penal Code has been supplemented by a Code of Criminal Procedure, simple in its design—and likely with a very few improvements to be as successful as the Code it supplements. A Code of Civil Procedure, tried and not found wanting during a trial of more than four years, is about to be amended in such minor points, as will render it complete and perfect, and make it suitable to the new Small Cause Courts that are about to be erected. What an improvement is this same Code on the old forms of actions used in the English Courts, so many of which have been swept away, and so many more only wait the advent of the ‘Amending Hand’ in due season to lie down with the things that have been. India has a Rent Law, about which much discussion now prevails, but which will probably be some day amended by the application of the results of such experience as has been gained since the law was passed. A Bill for the Regis-



tration of Assurances has just become law, which will produce benefits now scarcely to be calculated. A Bill for establishing Small Cause Courts in every Zillah is promised, which, denying the luxury of appeal to petty litigants for small sums, will save them from the ruinous gambling in law that distinguishes the lower class, and from the fangs of pettifogging practitioners, who care only to suck their blood, while they are indifferent to what becomes of the carcase. The appointment of an Official Trustee is a real benefit to the ever-migrating class of Englishmen, who here to-day and away to-morrow make India not their home, but a place of sojourning for a season. The powers of the Calcutta Court of Small Causes have been extended to meet the requirements of commerce and increasing mercantile prosperity. The Calcutta Magistrates have received additional powers which we hope to see delegated to worthy hands alone. A Whipping Bill has been passed to the terror of the wicked, which, particularly suited to a certain stage of civilization, is already producing good effects in relieving the jails of those for whom imprisonment, with better food and lodging than they enjoyed outside the prison walls, possessed no terrors. The régime we hope is past, when the prisoner, who had been by mistake detained beyond the term of his imprisonment, released at last, so far from being grateful, thought that a great injustice had been done him, and came running to the Magistrate to complain of the Jailor, who had dismissed him without fault on his part, (*be-kusúr humko jawab diya.*) The Law of Marriage has been adjusted to meet the requirements of those who wish to enter into that happy state; and we are soon to have a Divorce Court to meet the wishes of those who are dissatisfied with such happiness. The residence of Foreigners in our Anglo-Indian dominions has been subjected to suitable restrictions. The Emigration Laws have been overhauled, useless redundancies pruned away, and all that is necessary on the subject has been included in one consolidated Act. The old Regulations concerning the law-officers, the Cazeer and the Cazeer-al-cázat have been all swept away, much to the terror of Her Majesty's Mahomedan population, who fear there is to be no more marrying or giving in marriage, and (worse than all) no more bills of divorcement (*talak*). Verily the 'Amending Hand' has been busily employed, but we have a few branches which are sadly in want of pruning, and which we hope will very soon come under the shears of the 'Hand.' We speak of

- I. Domestic Servants.
- II. Legal Practitioners in the Mofussil Courts of Bengal.
- III. Village Chowkedars.

I. We had a law for domestic servants which was repealed by Act XVII. of 1862, after the Penal Code came into force. The law we refer to was Regulation VII. of 1819; and the preamble of that Regulation is just as applicable to the year of our Lord 1864 as to 1819. A portion of it runs thus:—‘It is further judged expedient to empower the Magistrates and Joint Magistrates to take cognizance of certain misdemeanours committed by workmen and domestic servants in cases not expressly provided for by any existing Regulation; at the same time maintaining the just claims of workmen and servants upon their respective employers.’

The law then enacted that domestic servants, who may engage to serve for any fixed term; or during the performance of any specific service, though no engagement have been entered into; or who may be employed from month to month; who shall without good and sufficient cause wilfully quit the service of their employers before the expiration of the fixed term; or before the completion of the stipulated service; or with respect to monthly servants, without giving previous notice for a period not less than fifteen days—shall on conviction be liable to a sentence of imprisonment not exceeding one month. And the Magistrate might direct them to complete their term of service, and might award for any further wilful neglect, a further sentence of imprisonment not exceeding two months. Masters also on their part were forbidden to discharge their servants without good and sufficient cause against their will, before the expiration of the term of contract, or the completion of the specified service, as the case might be; and, with respect to servants employed from month to month, without fifteen days’ notice, or paying fifteen days’ wages. If a servant were discharged without such notice, and for no fault of his, he could recover fifteen days’ wages, beside his arrears of salary up to date of discharge; but if misconduct was proved against him, he could not so recover. Now this was a very fair and impartial law. Masters and servants were alike bound by it to do what was just and reasonable. We are not aware that there were ever any complaints made against its working, and we do not know why it has been repealed. The only reason we can give is that the other sections of the law related to contracts by workmen; and that the strong feelings prevalent as to a criminal contract law were suffered to extirpate utterly a Regulation, that favoured such a monstrous notion. We think it would have been much better had the whole Regulation been left alone. The only substitution that has been made for the law rescinded is contained in Sections 490, 491, and 492 of the Penal Code,—useful



Sections no doubt, but only applicable to isolated and rarely occurring cases. It is a fact patent to all that, since the mutiny, domestic servants are not what they used to be. They have become pert, impertinent, and in some instances absolutely insolent. Nor is this confined to Calcutta, but it is the case so far as we know all over Bengal. It is all very well for the Lords of the Creation to give themselves no trouble about the matter. The slave is cunning enough, and is attentive enough to *their* wants. When they return from office in the Mofussil, the slaves are in waiting, and sharply attentive to the cry of 'Qui hai.' They have a wholesome terror of the arm that belongs to the proprietor of the voice, or if their Saheb be too humane and too sensible a man to raise his hand to them, there are yet numerous other ways and means of inspiring a due respect independent of the innate propensity of native servants to revere the male more than the female sex. It is scarcely then for ourselves that we put forth a plea, but for the gentler sex, whose nature and habits shrink from all save the most remote contact with the class who compose the great majority of our domestic servants in India. It is for those we plead, whom we have taken from their happy firesides at home to share our exile in a land, where there is enough to annoy and enough to suffer without the infliction of these domestic plagues beside. If the reader fancies that we are of choleric temperament and prone to magnify the little annoyances of Indian life, we ask him what he would do under any of the following circumstances. Your wife is unwell, not with disease or such bodily weakness as would bring the case under Section 491 of the Penal Code. On your return from office in the evening of a broiling day, you find that her female attendant has not been heard of since you left; or the punkah-wallahs have levanted, and the lady is prostrated with sickness in consequence. Your cook may have taken Indian leave, and delegated the task of spoiling the dinner to your musalehi. Your bearer has gone to a poojah, with the key of the clothes-almirah in his pocket. You are ordered off sharp to investigate a murder, and tell your khidmutgar to accompany you with supplies. With a face of well-composed grief he informs you that 'your slave's grand-mother's sister's husband's daughter's first cousin once removed has died of a snake-bite, complicated with small-pox, and he must see the interment properly conducted, or your slave will die.' We suppose that you are humane, and we trust that you are not profane. What will you do? You don't exactly know. Neither do we. As the law stands at present, your wisest plan is to keep silent and digest your resentment as well as you can. Now seriously,

if it is a proper maxim that no man is to take the law into his own hands, is it not wrong to leave men such a temptation to break the law, as exists here, where there is no such remedy afforded by the law as the maxim assumes to exist? We will not speak of those who are high in the Civil or Military service, or who hold other positions which exalt them in the eyes of the natives. These are generally educated men, who as a rule have control over their passions, and will not allow themselves to be led to use violence, and they will seldom have temptation to do so. But let us consider a lower stratum than these,—men who from want of education cannot restrain their choler, and who are more inclined to look down on their servants as a class, than educated men who understand what has made one man to differ from his fellow. Medical men will tell us that the temper is in this hot country inclined to be more irritable than at home. Should we not then hold out every inducement for self-restraint to this class by protecting them from insolence; by saving them from the temptation of those domestic trials which prove so very trying to all of us? The European who knows he can have his servant punished by due course of law, while his taking the punishment into his own hands may prove a very serious affair, will, unless in very exceptional cases, prefer following the safe plan; but when he knows that he has no redress except what he gives himself, his John Bull sense of justice will urge him along the only path that opens to his view. There are no cross roads for him to halt at, considering which way he will go, while, perhaps, his anger is cooling, and the feeling of contempt getting uppermost. Again, the man who lifts his hand once, will do it the second time with less repugnance, and the third time almost with readiness. Bad habits are very easily acquired. He may, however, have a great repugnance to lift his hand at all, and may long keep from doing so, until the servant, mistaking impunity for license, do something, that bursts the barriers of all restraint and brings down on his head all the accumulated wrath of his master. Then a blow, a kick, a diseased spleen ruptured, a trial for homicide, and a man's life, noble perhaps in other things, though here undoubtedly ignoble, is darkened with a black cloud, that can never entirely pass away; and mayhap a wife and children are plunged into sorrow and destitution. In very few of these cases does the intended fault deserve the consequent misery, though we are the last to stop the working of that stern law that brings it. But let us legislate in another direction, and stop the little stream at its fount, that otherwise may run on to this sea of bitterness. And if the law we ask for shall have prevented the occurrence of a single instance of this



kind, will it not have conferred a greater general benefit than that which is now conferred upon an unworthy class by withholding it?

II. Think'st thou there are no serpents *in this land*,  
 But those who slide along the grassy sod,  
 And sting the luckless foot that presses them?  
 There are *at all Cutcherries in the moolk*,  
 Who bask their spotted skins in *India's sun*  
 And sting *all honesty*. Ay till its frame  
 Is changed to secret, fest'ring sore disease,  
 So deadly is the wound.

So sang Joanna Baillie, or rather, we should say, so she would have sung, had she dwelt in India; and we with Emilia in Othello,

Would put in every honest hand a whip,  
 To lash the rascals naked through the world.

Reader, hast thou ever seen petitions taken in a Mofussil Court? For the information of those who have never witnessed the scene, we will describe it. All criminal cases used formerly to be commenced by putting in a written petition, or *darkhwast* as it is called in the vernacular. Even now the custom is in some places retained. If the presiding Magistrate does not take up the case himself, the order for making it over to another officer is written on the back of the petition. All Act X. cases are commenced by putting in the plaint in a similar manner. When the presiding officer first goes to Cutcherry in the forenoon, or at some period of the day which suits his taste or convenience, a Chuprassee shouts aloud that the Hakim is ready to take petitions; then behold, a general rush into the presence of the Hakim. The hookah is temporarily abandoned. The squatters stand upright. The sale of doubtful-looking refreshments for litigants wrapped in pieces of leaf is suspended for a time. Even the eternal counting of pice ceases. Every one who has been the victim of injury, and all, who want to gratify a grudge through the instrumentality of the law, rush to present their petitions. And are these petitions the genuine tale of wrong and suffering? Ah no! my friend, they have been prepared by the *Mooktyars*. Has Alla Bux given Hossein Alee one push? Hossein Alee states his case to a legal practitioner, and presently a petition is read out to the effect that Alla Bux, with half a dozen others, including all the bystanders, did assault Hossein Alee with divers kicks, thumps, slaps, blows of the closed fist, blows of the elbow, and various other blows, (separate expressions for all of which exist in the vernacular,) and did with force, violence, deceit, and dishonesty take five rupees from the waistcloth of the said Hossein Alee.

Have half a dozen men had a dispute about a square foot of land, and a couple of pushes or slaps been given on both sides? It swells into an attack by thirty or forty men armed with latties, ox-goads, and perhaps swords. Has Tumuzool Alee pledged his wife's bracelets with Deen Poddar, and, going to redeem them, had a dispute about one pice interest? He goes to a legal adviser, and Deen Poddar is charged with fraudulently, dishonestly, with intent to cheat, and in violation of all trust, detaining a pair of bracelets, a gold nose-ring, a silver neck-ring, and sundry other articles, after Tumuzool Alee had paid every farthing borrowed, interest and all; or perhaps he is charged with wresting them from the complainant, who was taking them home after paying all just demands. The unsophisticated may ask what is the use of all this. The evidence will be sure to break down, and the case appears a false one. Perhaps so, if the case ever comes on for hearing, but Alla Bux in the first instance being conscious of having given one push, and the terrors of the law being set before his eyes by the artful mooktyar, may be willing to pay handsomely rather than let the case come on for trial. The bystanders, or the men charged as lattials, or Deen Poddar may be respectable men, who would rather pay something than be brought into Court, and again they may remember some instance of an innocent man being convicted and punished through the instrumentality of bazar witnesses, professionals who can be got to give evidence at four annas a head. Whatever is paid to settle the case is almost wholly appropriated by the mooktyar, and the complainant yields not unwillingly, as 'he has had his desire upon his enemy,'—a phrase which none can properly understand who have not been to India. We have mentioned a few very simple instances of every-day occurrence, but were there need, could write a volume of all the rascalities practised by the class. When a man with a real grievance comes to Court, he is caught by one of these harpies, who are always on the look-out. He is not permitted to tell his plain unvarnished story, but he and his witnesses are drilled, until the grain of truth is well mixed up with falsehood, which being detected, he loses the remedy he might have obtained for his actual wrong. Perhaps the mooktyar will even sell him to his opponent, and artfully make the case break down.

We will take a view inside the Cutcherry. The petitioners are assembled, clamorous to put in their petitions and be heard. In front of all stand the mooktyars to guard the interests of their clients, to explain their grievous wrongs, and if possible, whisper the right answer in their ear, when a question is asked them. We will suppose a new Magistrate has arrived and taken



his seat for the first time. All the mooktyars are gathered to greet him with the most reverential *salaams* and—to measure their man. Has he a hobby, has he some particular way of doing business? In one week they will all be conversant with it. They will know the very questions he is likely to ask in cross-examination and put the answers in the witnesses' mouth before hand. The following is a single instance out of hundreds:—A Magistrate destroyed an attempted *alibi* by asking the witnesses, illiterate men, the day, and date. The answer was, say, 'Tuesday, the 17th Magh.' Well said he, 'what date 'will next Tuesday be?' They could not tell, though attempting to swear with precision to a date two months prior. Soon after an *alibi* was set up in another case, the same question was asked, and answered. But much to the disgust of the pains-taking mooktyar who had got up the case, the Magistrate said, 'Well then, tell me what date was *last* Tuesday.' Not one of forty witnesses could answer, for they had not been taught this.

Behold then the motley crowd. Here is a cunning fat grey-eyed fellow with a peculiar twist in his turban. That man was turned out of the Police thirty years ago for bribery, and after undergoing a term of imprisonment, set up as mooktyar, and he has thriven so well as to have been able to purchase several estates at Government sales. There is a lank young Mussulman with a dirty cap and patched clothes, and a reed pen stuck behind his ear to show his craft. He stands gaping with open mouth. He is a new arrival, a candidate for forensic honours, just came to Court after picking up enough of writing to enable him to pen a petition, at which employment novices begin, before they have gained a little smattering of talk, and sufficient impudence to plead (save the mark) before the Hakim. Between these two are all grades of sleekness, characteristic of successful villany. Hindoos and Mussulmans—Mohurrirs discharged for misconduct, and now turning their knowledge of the *penetralia* of the Court to good account—dismissed chup-rassees, who pretend to comprehend all the peculiarities of the Hakim—Members of the Old Police, who could not draw breath in the purer air of the new *régime*—Income tax or Abkaree writers turned off owing to reduction of establishment—*oomed-wars et hoc genus omne*—such are the attorneys, mooktyars, legal practitioners, legal advisers, or what you will of the Mofussil Courts, the gentlemen learned in the law, the Jurisconsults of India, who undertake to manage that vast amount of petty litigation, which is carried on in the Courts of the Magistrates, Collectors, and Deputy Collectors, and which really affects in no inconsiderable degree the masses of the population, who gather

their ideas of British rule and British justice, strained through this medium. It may be asked, have the officers who preside in the various Courts no power of stopping this? We reply, practically none. Vakeels of the second grade are allowed to practise in these Courts, and where they do practise, they cannot for a moment be included in the above category. They are a superior class, and know something of their work, an imputation which cannot be made on the class we have just depicted. But no one is by law excluded from practising as a Mooktyar. The effect of Sections 432 of Act XXV. of 1861 and 149 of Act X. of 1859, is to admit any one who likes to come. If a gross act be proved against any one of them, he may be excluded, but they are quite cunning enough to keep their practices within the tangible limit.

We may be asked what we would suggest. We would at once repeal Section 149 of Act X. and would confine the practice in the Courts of the Magistrates and Collectors and their subordinates to persons who had passed a suitable examination, and had obtained a certificate from the Commissioner of the Division; the number of practitioners in the several Courts to be fixed by the same officer in conjunction with the Magistrate and Collector. Thus, at first starting, a certain amount of knowledge and respectability would be ensured. The practice being limited to a fixed number would be sufficiently lucrative to induce respectable men to come to the work, and to keep up their respectability, the forfeiture of it entailing a forfeiture of their practice. In the case of misconduct, we would have a judicial investigation made by the presiding officer of the Court, where such misconduct occurred. If proved, the sentence should be suspension for a certain time, and in gross cases striking off the offender's name from the list, such sentences to be notified to other Courts and to have equal effect in all. We would allow the same appeal that is allowed from the other orders of the officer making the order of suspension. Three suspensions for any periods, long or short, should entail erasure from the list. Where an order for striking off a practitioner's name was made in the first instance, we would allow an appeal direct to the Judge. Were these or similar rules passed, the Mofussil Courts would soon have a proper set of practitioners. The duty of a paternal Government would be fulfilled in showing the impartiality and justice of our Courts, which at present are by no means clear to the mass, and the poorer classes would be saved from plunder and losses by litigation, which could be avoided by having proper legal advice. *It has often been said, and with the greatest truth that bad law is*



*dear law*, and cheap law is without doubt bad law to litigants. If those petty suitors were properly advised, how many suits would never be brought at all, and how many more would be so laid at starting, that the first decision would be decisive, and no appeal would be made! It is a notorious fact that in the great majority of cases under Act X. where an officer does fix proper issues, witnesses are called to speak at random and not with reference to the points at issue. Had we respectable and qualified men to practise in those Courts which affect such a large portion of the population, there is no doubt that a large diminution, both in original and appellate litigation, would ensue. The number of practitioners being limited, there would not be the same necessity or inducement to *make a practice* by urging persons into court, who had no good grounds of action. There is no doubt that a large number of the cases which take up the time of the Lower Courts of original jurisdiction are cases which should never have been brought into Court, and never would have been, had the parties been advised aright. Where there are a large number of petty practitioners, their only hope of a livelihood is to urge persons into court by false hopes of success. In the majority of cases they have no notion what is requisite to ensure this success, and they are always too dishonest to care. Were the practice limited to a smaller number of men possessing some qualifications, their time would be sufficiently taken up with such cases as involved doubtful points, or such as honest men might not unreasonably dispute about in good faith; and where suitors had nothing to go upon in Court, pleaders would have no inducement to do otherwise than tell them so at once, and advise them to avoid the expenses of litigation. This is what is done at home in very many cases, which thus never come into Court. It will never be done in India till those are driven away from the Courts, whose sole chance of subsistence depends upon 'getting up' evidence to prop up cases brought or defended upon no probable or intelligible grounds. That gambling in law which distinguishes the people of this country has originated in no slight degree from the dishonesty and incapacity of Mofussil practitioners. Again, if only capable men were allowed to plead in the Courts, the officers who sit in those Courts would learn their own deficiencies, and would have every stimulus to self-improvement, that they might not be less able than those who practise before them. The Bar assists the Bench in no slight degree, and the latter would very soon show a marked improvement. Moreover what better persons could be chosen for Deputy Magistracies and other similar posts, than *men* who had practised for some years as pleaders?

There is a certain respectability attaching to Government employment, that would always induce the acceptance of these posts, and Government would be no loser in admitting to the higher grades of salaries, qualified pleaders of the class we speak of, who would be willing to accept such post. To continue the general subject; if our proposed reform were carried out, that underhand dealing, which goes on among the *Amlah*, and which is so often denounced by indignant Europeans in the *Mofussil*, would be checked if not stopped. Respectable practitioners would not pander to it, if they were well aware, that they would have the assistance and attentive hearing of the Head of the Office, if they would bring irregularities to his notice. Their position would be a guarantee of their acting with good faith and not to satisfy some petty grudge, and one or two severe examples made of *Amlah* who *would* adhere to former practices would produce great results. Judicial work would be easier and more satisfactory to those employed therein. Perjury and Forgery would undoubtedly be diminished, and some respect for an oath would prevail in the land. While on the subject of these crimes we will mention a point which has often occurred to us with respect to stamp-papers. There is little doubt that, notwithstanding all the precautions of the Stamp Act, it is very easy to procure a stamp-paper endorsed as sold on any day, a month, or year, or two years before the real date of sale. The Stamp-vendor writes in his return of sales a real or fictitious name instead of that of the purchaser, and it is a very hard matter to prove that such real or fictitious person did not purchase it. When a document bearing a date long past has to be prepared, a stamp-paper is procured bearing an antecedent date as that of sale, and thus the provision of the law, that each stamp-paper should bear the proper date of sale, is useless as an aid in detecting a forgery. We would obviate this by printing in water-mark or otherwise on each stamp-paper the year of its manufacture, and again, when the stamps are given out of the Collectorate store, by marking on each paper the date of issue by an instrument somewhat similar to that used for stamping Railway tickets, or a crest upon note-paper.

The utter disregard for truth which prevails in *Mofussil* Courts has been descanted on so often, that it is superfluous to speak of it here. If we are ever to cleanse those Augean stables, it will only be done by teaching the people practically, that their interest lies in truth and not in falsehood, and so long as an opposite lesson is taught by those who have the ear of the people, or at least of that class who resort to the Courts, laws against perjury or forgery, resulting in an isolated conviction now



and again, while perjury and forgery are being committed daily, will have no more effect in stopping these crimes, than a great Railway accident now and again will have in stopping the thousands who travel daily, from using the rail. We therefore earnestly hope that the Amending Hand may be put to the task we propose, and blessed indeed will it be, if it effect only a tithe of what we have predicted will be the results.

III. Most of our readers are aware that the Chowkidar or village watchman is a very old institution in India, dating from the period when Hindoo communities existed on the basis of the laws of Menu. The village Chowkidar had a piece of land, and the villagers gave him some remuneration in the shape of contributions of produce. In later times these contributions, in some parts of the country, were commuted to a money payment.\* The rules at present in force for the management

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\* In Madras and other parts of India either the origin of the system was different, or it passed through a peculiar phase of progress. Mr. W. Robinson, who introduced the new system of police with distinguished success in the Madras presidency, writes thus :—‘The Village Watch in Madras originally formed the lowest link in the chain of the Káveli system of Police under which the Villages compounded with the heads of the robber races, *Men Kávelgars and Palegars*, and with the body of the thievish races of their own village, for the security of their crops and property. The Kávelgars, Head and Village, were responsible to make good losses by theft, and for the detection of crime, of which they were really the only perpetrators. The Village were Watch appointed and in part maintained by the Head Kávelgars, and were responsible to them and the villagers. Both classes levied heavy *black mail* for their forbearance from crime. The system was the only effective protection that could be secured under a weak native Government, and in a semi-civilized society ; and worked no doubt well. But the power of the Head Kávelgars was found incompatible with good Government, and this grade of the Káveli system was suppressed in A. D. 1801—4. As regards the Village Watch, all responsibility for losses by theft, and the power of summary corporal punishment and torture to which resort was usually had to extract information from the village watchers, were put an end to by Law. Thus the *Officers* of the institution were put down, and the very essence of the whole system, one of well defined pecuniary responsibility, not personal diligence, was extracted from it. The institution at once lost its vitality and never will recover it. But it received a further blow ; for in 1816 the Village Watchman was put under the Revenue Potail or Native Collector, and village *Managers* or village elders, and from that time he became a mere servant of the revenue officials or private drudge of these ignorant selfish farmers. He has done little no Police duty since. The whole institution has fallen into utter decay in many districts ; in all, abuses which destroy its efficiency have remained unremedied for half a century. To remedy this, a Police Potail or Village Head, who is always one of the *Ryots*, has been appointed as Village Inspector ; and through him, the Village Watch is required to do what, under the ancient constitution of the country, was required of them. The village watchership was made a hereditary office, and therefore placed to all intents and purposes beyond the control

and direction of village watchmen in Bengal are to be found in Section 21, Regulation XX. of 1817. Requesting the unofficial reader not to confound these Chowkidars with Chowkidars of towns and villages under Act XX. of 1856, we proceed to give an outline of these rules :—‘ A list of the village watchmen is to be kept by officers in charge of thanahs, subject to whose orders the village watchmen are declared to be. Vacancies are to be filled up by the landholders. Watchmen are to report fortnightly, weekly, twice a week, or daily (according to their distance from the thannah or police-station,) all occurrences in their villages connected with the Police, and these reports are to be entered in the thannah diaries. The watchmen are to arrest and convey to the thannah persons found committing murder, robbery, house-breaking, or theft, also proclaimed offenders—and to give immediate intimation of the occurrence of all heinous offences. In case of neglect of the above duties the Magistrate may order their dismissal. On the occurrence of a gang robbery, murder, or other heinous offence, attended with a breach of the peace, the village watchmen are, to the utmost of their ability, to resist and endeavour to apprehend the offenders, calling upon the headman of the village to collect the inhabitants to oppose and seize the criminals, or pursue them if they have fled, and the watchmen of villages near which the pursuit may be, are in a similar manner to collect the inhabitants of their villages and join in the pursuit.’

‘ Admirable, excellent,’ some one may exclaim, ‘ this quite surpasses the clumsy method of calling out the *posse comitatus*, which has deservedly fallen into disuse at home. Under such arrangements no criminal can escape.’ But what is the fact? These rules have become a dead letter in all essential points. Criminals are never through their instrumentality brought to justice. The Chowkidar, when he seeth a thief, consenteth unto him instead of arresting him. The village watchman, a very wolf set to guard the sheep, is himself a dacoit and in league with dacoits, to whom he furnishes all requisite local information. The writer knew a case in which out of nine

‘ both of the village community and Magistrate. So he now is in no way more removed from the general influence of the village elders than he ever has been. The body of village elders is no more fitted to work systematically an establishment of even local police than a parish vestry is in England: and so we now hold one man responsible for seeing that the work is done; he becomes the channel of communication with the people.’ This relates to Madras, and shows at once the old state of things and the remedy that has been applied, a remedy which has been by no means ineffectual.



persons convicted for dacoity, *five* of them were—the watchman of the village in which the crime occurred, and the watchmen of four neighbouring villages. If an affray occur, the Chowkidar is sure to have come up after all was over, to have sought diligently for the guilty, but to have failed to find them. Is a burglary committed, the Chowkidar is sure to have been bawling audibly in some distant part of his *Mahalla* or beat.\* The village watchman is then either the partner of thieves, or for all purposes of local police he is worse than useless. The Magistrate may turn him out, and the landholder then puts in another of his creatures, who will be just as blind to any doings of his, which might not find favour with the authorities. Why so? the Chowkidar is paid by the landholder's ryots, who, never very willing to disburse, only wait for a single nod not to pay a pice. On the contrary, if the Chowkidar work with the Zemindar, he can be very useful to the latter, who will not fail to see him paid. This the Magistrate has no power to do. He cannot under the law enforce the payment of a single pice, though we *are* aware of orders having been issued to the police

\* There are few, we fancy, who will differ from us on these points, but we venture to quote a few opinions besides our own to show how generally this class of the native police has been utterly condemned long ago. Mr. W. G. Hawthorn, Judge of Zillah Cuttack, wrote thus :—' From the total absence of any supervision over the Village Police for a series of years, it may be said that at present such a body does not exist. The race of people denominated Chowkidars retain the name apparently to blind the people as to their real character. They are employed during the day to assist the Zemindar in collecting his rents, and at night they act as the agents of notorious characters, to point out where property is to be found. They seldom realize by honest means above one or two rupees per mensem at the most, and are therefore always ready to connive at offences on the promise of getting a share of the stolen property. It is not an uncommon trick among the Chowkidars to apply for leave of absence before a burglary or dacoity takes place, to quiet suspicion against them, after having informed where property is to be found, and the time and manner in which the theft can be accomplished with the least chance of detection to the parties concerned.' Mr. Hawkins wrote thus in 1837 :—' Many a Magistrate must have observed that a man has turned Chowkidar, merely because it gives him an excuse for leaving his home at night, in order that he may go upon his thieving expeditions.' The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in his Minute of 30th April 1856 expressed himself thus :—' Village Watchmen are now declared to have no legal right to remuneration for service, and (the help of the Magistrate being withdrawn) they have no power to enforce their rights, even if they had any rights to enforce. Hence they are all thieves or robbers, or leagued with thieves and robbers, inasmuch that when any one is robbed in a village, it is most probable that the first person suspected will be the village watchman.' Were it necessary we could quote other consentient opinions—but there is no occasion, as few will be found to deny what is so generally admitted. We merely quote as above to show that Government does not require to be convinced on this point.

to collect the Chowkidar's pay. The Magistrate again has no power over him except to order his dismissal, *i. e.* unless he do something which brings him within the grasp of the Penal Code. The practice (followed formerly by some Magistrates, and now by some District Superintendents of Police) of imposing small money fines is wholly unwarranted by the law and therefore illegal. Such being the state of things, it is no wonder that what might have been a most useful local police has degenerated into something worse than useless. Witness the late occurrence as to the seditious perwanas, which the Chowkidars were caught disseminating. What then is to be done? Let the Chowkidars be put under the District Superintendents as completely as the men of the present force, and let Government take the power of the purse into its own hands by a measure similar to that lately adopted and made law by the Bengal Government for the improvement of the system of Zemindary Dâks. Once paid by Government, they will be Government servants in deed as well as word. Their very position will then put them into such healthy antagonism to the men of the village and the Zemindar, that they will bring local crimes to light instead of hiding them, as now, at the back of the Zemindar. Until some such measure as the above is taken, it is idle to expect any great results from the New Police. The organization of that body has separated them and will continue to separate them from the village watchman, with whom the old Burkandaz worked in harmonious concert;—*arcades ambo*—(with Byron's translation.) Whatever help the Chowkidar formerly gave the Burkandaz when it suited them jointly to detect a crime, will henceforth be less to be looked for. A change in the law relating to village watchmen is therefore not only a highly politic measure, but it is a sort of necessary sequel to Act V. of 1861. Amid all the correspondence and discussion which preceded the passing of that Act, the necessity of a complete change in the Village Police was one point always mentioned and never disputed. How it was so completely overlooked, as it has been, in carrying out the measure is more than we can understand. Perhaps the very want of discussion and difference of opinion on the point was the cause of its being ultimately forgotten. We have shown how generally the utter uselessness and the thorough viciousness of the present state of this part of the Police system is admitted. At the same time its importance as a system singularly suited to the country, the necessity of its resuscitation, and the advantages to be derived from the reform of this institution have been no less generally allowed, and mentioned from time to time as an important portion of the



subject matter of the contemplated changes. In a Minute by the Honourable Mr. Clerk, dated the 28th April 1848, we find these remarks :—‘ When efficient, nothing can be better in all agricultural districts. Forming an essential part of the universal village system, they (the Village Chowkidars), have unrivalled facilities for both the prevention and detection of crime ; and I think it may safely be said that, under good superintendence, they can be rendered not only superior to anything which could be devised for a country like the agricultural districts of India, but that they afford a degree of security to person and property, such as is not surpassed in any other country.’ And again at the close of the same Minute :—‘ It should be the first duty of the Superintendent of zillah police to attend to the revival and reform of this (the village) police, which is of excellent material and still at the service of Government.’ To the same effect the Hon. Sir H. C. Montgomery remarks :—‘ The renovation of the Village Police appears to me to be the first step towards insuring increased efficiency.’ Again in a Despatch of the Directors dated 30th September 1857, the *reorganization of the Village Police* is mentioned as one of the leading features of the plan for the improvement of the Police of the Madras Presidency ; and Lord Harris in his Minute of 3rd June 1858, observes as follows :—‘ I am of opinion, as mentioned in my Minute of September 11th, 1856, that the Village Police must be combined with the General Police, in order to render the force complete and fully efficient, and therefore in considering its general arrangements and organization, *this should always be kept in view.*’ Now these are high authorities, and we believe every Magistrate in Lower Bengal will subscribe to the same opinions. We do not think the subject of Police in India so difficult a one as might be imagined, looking at all the discussion it has excited. The same detective skill that is required at home is not necessary in India. What is chiefly requisite is a knowledge of the habits and manners of the people. The same artifices are resorted to over and over again on the recurrence of the same crime ; and that novelty and ingenuity, which the London Detective has to meet, is not to be found, at least among the agricultural classes, whose habits and manners contribute very little to the concealment of crime. We venture to quote in support of our opinions from the Report of the Commissioners for the investigation of Torture in Madras. The Commissioners express themselves thus :—‘ Indeed, such are the institutions of society in India, that we believe, with a Mofussil Police properly constituted and commanded scarcely any crime, however minute, could be perpetrated without the discovery of the offender by

‘perfectly legal and justifiable means.’ We are not prepared to deny that in cases of special crime, such as Dacoity or Thuggee, more than usual detective skill may be requisite, though even here certain grooves will be found in which these offences generally run. We believe that, in order to insure complete success to any general system of Police in this country, its European officers must be led to acquire an intimate acquaintance with the manners and social habits of the people. Too much attention to military organization, and too much office work, will prevent Police officers from acquiring by actual investigation of important cases in person this most valuable experience. One case thus investigated, and the subsequent proceedings in Court similarly watched, will supply more experience than a year’s reading in office of Diaries and Reports. Again the Police should be ‘*en rapport*’ with the mass of the people. There is no denying that a semi-military organization, the use of muskets, and a distinctive dress, have had a strong tendency to produce an opposite effect. This effect will doubtless gradually diminish; but the most successful means that can be adopted to make the Police *en rapport* with the people, is the reorganization of the Chowkidaree system. Here will be found the link that is wanting to complete the chain, and render the communication perfect. The importance of the subject we advocate is forcibly put in a Letter from the Police Commission to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated so recently as the 10th September 1860, from which we quote a few paragraphs:—

‘The subject of Village Police is closely connected with the ‘successful working of an organized constabulary.’ ‘In every part of India, the village watchman is found. In no part is he very efficient, though everywhere he may be useful.’ ‘That the organized Police should have one of their body in every village or circle of villages would be impossible, and if possible would not be desirable. On the one hand, a large augmentation of the Police force would be needed. On the other hand, policemen scattered about among the villages and isolated from control, would be oppressive to the people. It becomes therefore necessary that there should be some one among the residents of the village on whom the organized constabulary can rely for information; through whom they can carry out their orders. *The Village Watchman is of course just such a person.* He is a man of the village; not enough of an official to be alien from or obnoxious to the villagers, and enough of an official to be amenable to system and reliable for duty; (if he were responsible to and paid by the District Superintendent, we would add;) he possesses a sort of knowledge and a sort of influence, which no Police



'Agent could ever possess. And the people never regard him with distrust or dislike, but, on the contrary, consider him a useful personage and a necessary adjunct to the constitution of the village.' 'It is thus, we conceive, that so many experienced Officers consider the Village Watchman as an indispensable link in the chain of administrative control over the people, as in many respects the foundation of Police superstructure.' The Commission then proceed to point out, that the Village Police is a municipal institution in the broadest sense of the term, but one, which wherever it has been left to itself and to voluntary aid, has declined and gone to ruin.

That something should be done being then thus generally admitted, the difficulty is to find out what ought to be done. We have said above, let Government take *the power of the purse* into its own hands. The Chowkidars, like the Old Police, are badly paid; and while this is the case, it is in vain to expect efficiency. They are worse off than the Old Police, for, as we have already stated, they have no means of enforcing payment of what they are entitled to. The remedy was spoken of in the same letter of the Police Commission, from which we have just quoted:—

'It appears absolutely necessary'—it is observed—'that the remuneration of the Watchman should be fixed by the District Officer with reference to local custom and to the rate of remuneration for unskilled labour in the locality, and that the said Officer should enforce and supervise its realization'—and again one of the Propositions relative to the Village Police of Bengal, appended to the same letter, is as follows:—'That the only way by which it is possible to secure a proper maintenance for the Village Police is to provide an enactment, whereby the Magistrate may be enabled to levy and collect from the village residents the fees and dues they now pay as remuneration for the Village Police they now appoint and entertain; and where maintained by the Zemindar to secure to the Village Police enjoyment of the lands assigned them.' This enactment might take various forms. It might be made on principles similar to the present Chowkidaree Act for Towns (Act XX. of 1856) only letting the Punchayet collect and pay the money; or it might be made on the principle of the Act for Zemindary Daks referred to above, allowing the Zemindar to collect the dues of the Chowkidars and either disburse them, or pay them in with his Revenue to be disbursed through the District Superintendent. Perhaps the best plan would be to allow the system to retain its municipal character, and to leave the villagers to manage the *Fund among themselves* by Punchayet or otherwise, investing

the local authorities with power to compel payment, and requiring a monthly return to be made to the District Superintendent or to the Magistrate of the District. These remarks are, however, only incidental. Let the matter be once brought forward for discussion in the Bengal Council, and we have little doubt that a suitable enactment will be passed. Of one thing we are confident that, whatever opposition may be given by the Zemindars, whose private servants the Chowkidars now are, scarce a murmur will be raised by the body of the people, who without doubt favour a system which provides watch and ward for their little properties at night, and which, if the Chowkidars were paid by themselves under the direct control and supervision of the district authorities, would furnish them with no slight protection against the tyranny of the Zemindar.

We have ventured to point out in the above pages some objects of reform. Should our Legislators view these matters in the same light that we see them, and so carry their views into practical effect, we doubt not that many will accede to the aphorism we have placed at the head of this article, when applied to the subjects we have touched on therein; and join with Lord Coke and us in a benediction on the 'Amending Hand.'

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- ART V.—1. *Reports of Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of Bengal for the years 1859-60, to 1862-63.*  
 2. *Rámárunjicá*, by Tekchand Thákur—Calcutta: D'Rozario & Co., 1860.  
 3. *Bámábodhini Patricá.*  
 4. *Hindu Mahiláganer Hindávasthá or Hindu Females*, by Koylábásiney Davi. Gupta Press, 1863.

WE shall make no apology for entering on the subject of the present condition of Hindu Women; which is one of vital importance and has, of late, received considerable attention. Time was when efforts made for the amelioration of their condition were regarded as impracticable and even Utopian. The youth of our sex monopolized the care of the Public and Government, while the female child was left to acquire, as she might, the little menial sciences, which were to be her perpetual and exclusive employment. And even when the multiplication of Colleges and Schools imparted an unprecedented impetus to the intellectual activities of the Hindus, it was long before woman reaped the advantage. Her personal attractions and culinary achievements have always constituted her sole claim to regard, and her mind has been thought incapable of culture. But there are many in India who have begun to recognize, theoretically at least, the truth that mind has no sex, that girls should be as thoroughly educated as boys, and woman, instead of being made an active agent of social degradation, should be a powerful instrument of national civilization.

The destiny of woman—a destiny distinct from man's, but which is the development and culmination of manhood,—is now better understood than before. It is no longer denied that knowledge, which is the spiritual light of the living God, should, like His material light, be the heritage not of man only but of woman. But the change that has come over the spirit of the opinions and sentiments of the educated Hindus is more speculative than practical. It is something no doubt to acknowledge an evil and to realize its magnitude, but it will not the less powerfully continue to eat into the vitals of society, until the remedy is applied. What is now wanted is not a lip-deep acquiescence in the propriety of female improvement, but a living conviction of its imperative necessity and superlative importance.

*We know that the degradation of Hindu females is frankly*

and unequivocally admitted by educated natives to be an unmitigated and grievous evil, but of those who make this admission how few are they who do not shrink with affright from the task of removing it, because forsooth, it might create a hubbub. At present Hindu women are depressed by the institutions of their country—depressed by a public opinion resulting from those institutions—depressed by the prejudices of their relatives—depressed by ignorance the most dense, and superstition the most demoralizing. They are, with few exceptions, unconscious of their own powers and rights. The social code of their country prescribes an idle, inactive, and inglorious life and one without any great purpose; there is enough indolence in the human composition to be soon content with ease without care and toil, and the Hindu woman has easily reconciled herself to a condition, which saves her so much trouble. It is not our intention here to pourtray that condition. The picture has been vividly and sometimes faithfully drawn by native as well as European writers. That the birth of a female child is not hailed with rejoicings, but is regarded with indifference—that she is treated with carelessness and as an inferior—that she is educated as a menial, subjected to privations and exposed to insults, lost in the slough of superstition, fleeced by priests, and victimized by relatives, all this and much more has been graphically and repeatedly put forward in the columns of this and other periodicals. Still we are not prepared to go the length of maintaining and representing, as several of these highly coloured pictures have represented, that her condition is one of unmitigated and intolerable misery. The Hindu woman is not certainly what she ought and is intended to be. She has not attained her true position. Her rights are not respected, and her mission is not understood. But she is neither a slave nor a drudge. Her life is *not* such a round of monotonous toil and trouble, as several old and some recent writers would have the European world believe. She, on the contrary, exercises a considerable influence on the domestic and social concerns of Hindus. She has 'a voice potential' in every thing that regulates the economy of the inner life of the household. She not only assumes, as of right she should, the control of the domestic republic, but has an important share in the management of the family estate.

In truth the laws of Nature must triumph over the institutions of man. Human laws, which violate the divine laws, are not laws but *lies*, which soon become inoperative and must perish in the long run. These may condemn her to a life of misery, but those must mitigate its severity. Theoretically she may be of



little avail, but practically she is often all in all. To say therefore that her prestige is *nil* is absurd. The truth lies frequently in the other direction. Instead of being powerless as a member of the family, as she is generally supposed by foreigners to be, she is often but too powerful, as many Hindu husbands know to their cost. The victims of domestic despotism are not always confined to the members of the softer sex. While respectable birth and easy circumstances exempt the Hindu woman from menial employment, her social training is not altogether unmarked by the absence of those delicate perceptions, which constitute one of the best safeguards of innocence and virtue.

We do not deny that Hindu women are subject to oppression, but we maintain that it springs more from pride and selfishness than cruelty. Power leads the Hindus, as it has led other races without a peculiar disposition to cruelty to oppress. We know of Hindu husbands who are tyrants, as we know of others who are under petticoat government, but we believe that their tyranny is neither incompatible with kindly emotions, nor confined to this country or to the Hindu race. Man has degraded and enthralled woman almost everywhere. As the question is attracting greater and greater interest, and as it is universally laid down that the position of women in India is one of greater degradation than that which they occupied in other ancient civilizations, it seems not inopportune to compare her condition with that of her sisters in other ages and countries, which will enable us to ascertain the effect of the female character on human progress, at different periods and under different degrees of development.

In the primitive stage of society,—the rudimental development, so to speak of mankind,—women were classed with goods and chattels, ploughs and oxen, horses and mules. Sheep and women were valuable and conspicuous items in the domestic and agricultural inventory. Not only in the Eastern but in some of the Western countries women have been and are still being compelled to perform the labour of oxen. They are, to all intents and purposes, beasts of burden. They are regarded as machines capable of locomotion and of producing similar machines; and thus the cruelties of savages are perpetuated in civilized and semi-civilized countries. In the patriarchal stage of social development—that state of human progress which first, by hereditary custom or legislative enactment, conferred on the male the right to hold property and to regulate affairs—the assumption of the dominion of males over the other sex forms a prominent feature. Women are made solely dependent on men, for subsistence and privileges. It is a system of usurpation on one hand, and of *servitude on the other*.

During these stages women are intellectually and morally degraded and have no clear perception of inherent and indefeasible rights. As society advances towards civilization, it is long before the progress of material prosperity does more for woman than change her condition from being a beast of burden to that of an honorary slave. She is no longer the drawer of water and hewer of wood, but still an article of commerce and an appanage to grandeur. She may be indulged with extravagant fondness, or, in instances, vested with social and even political powers, yet the class remains in a state of object dependance; its rights, its distinctive position, are never recognized.

In Assyria matrimony was literally a matter of money. Marriageable maidens were brought in a body to one place and disposed of to the highest bidders, who, as a condition of purchase, were bound to make them their wives. Herodotus graphically describes the scene. He states that the beautiful, as might be expected, had precedence at the rostrum, and were put up for sale by a crier, when, says our venerable authority, 'such men among the Babylonians as were rich, and desirous of marrying, used to bid against one another and purchase the handsomest.'

In ancient Greece, the nursery of poetry and philosophy, and the earliest abode of freedom, the social and domestic condition of women was wretchedly degraded. With all their poetry and philosophy, the refinements of their life, and the elevation of their theories, the Greeks remained to the last insensible to the true character and destiny of woman. Sprung from the robbers and pirates of the *Ægean*, they retained, in this, as in other points of view, some taint of their origin. In the Homeric era wives were purchased, or more frequently, were 'captives of the spear,' and the laxity of manners which prevailed is shown by the universality of the custom by which women taken in war, even though married, were compelled to yield to the will of their captors, and by the very slight reluctance which they ordinarily displayed on such occasions.

The annals of this country make at least occasional mention of women distinguished either by abilities or the influence they exercised. This shows that by a happy concurrence of fortune and merit, a woman of genius and virtue might emerge from her degraded condition in India. But in the palmiest days of Athens, the women were everlastingly endungedoned and left to fritter away their ignoble existence within the four walls of the domestic prison-house, while everything without was instinct with activity and animation. Many of the Athenian women may and must have been more educated than those of India, but this circumstance instead of mitigating, simply aggravated their misery, since it



was not allowed to lighten the fetters by which they were enthralled. 'Married or unmarried they were,' says Gillies, 'kept in equal restraint.' Mitford tells us that they lived with their female slaves in a secluded part of the house, associating little with one another, scarcely at all with the men, even their nearest relations, and seldom appearing in public, but at those religious festivals in which ancient custom required the women to bear a part, and sacerdotal authority could ensure decency of conduct towards them.

An Athenian who was tried for the murder of his wife's seducer, thus discourses in his defence on the domestic amenities of Grecian life. 'When I first entered into the married state, I endeavoured to observe a medium between the harsh severity of some husbands and the easy fondness of others; my wife, though treated with kindness, was watched with vigilance. As a husband I rendered her situation agreeable, but as a woman she was left neither the entire mistress of my fortune nor of her own actions. When she became a mother, this new endearment overcame the prudent caution of my former conduct, and encouraged me to repose in her an unlimited confidence. During a short time, Athenians, I had no occasion to repent of this alteration; she proved a most excellent wife and highly circumspect in her private behaviour; she managed my affairs with the utmost frugality, but since the death of my mother she has been the cause of all my calamities. Then she first got abroad to attend the funeral, and, being observed by Eratosthenes, was soon after seduced by him. This he effected by means of our female slave whom he watched going to market, and whom by fair promises and flattery, he gained over to his designs.' We find it difficult to repress a smile at what the Athenian husband calls the cessation of 'prudent caution', and the substitution for it of 'unlimited confidence.' His wife after she became a mother got abroad for the first time in her life, and then only to attend a funeral, *i. e.*, she could not pass her own threshold without leave, nor obtain it without the urgency of an extraordinary occasion. Talk of the seclusion of Hindu women after this?

Even Rome, which is associated in our minds with all that is heroic and glorious cannot boast of female elevation. Her laws pressed on women in all her relations, with great severity. They enforced early marriage and denied civil rights to females. The Roman wife was regarded as a chattel and supposed to be destitute of all mental faculties. She was defined as 'a thing' and was regularly purchased in conformity with a primitive custom like any other slave, by the husband, and the terms were registered

in a written deed. 'We shall not be surprised,' says Arnold, 'to find that the usages of a rude people paid but little respect to women. A man could acquire a right over a woman by his having lived with her for a year, exactly as a year's possession, gave him a legal title to a slave or any other article of moveable property.' These ephemeral engagements were regarded much in the same light as marriages, except that they did not convey to women the same rights as the marriage by *confarreatio*, which entitled and enabled them to participate in the religious and social privileges of their husbands. The Roman husband exercised an unlimited power over the wife. He had jurisdiction over her life; all her property and everything she might inherit became his, and he could at his own sweet will expel her from his house and summarily deprive her of the right and dignity of a wife. 'Wives were dismissed,' says Browne (in his Civil Law) 'not only for want of chastity or for intolerable temper, but for the slightest cause.' Moreover, women were never considered to have attained the age of reason and experience, and were condemned to the perpetual tutelage of parents, husbands, or guardians.

Such was the condition of the women of the ancient world. How far it was better or worse than that of Hindu women will be evident from a glance at the ancient history of India. Before the dissipation of great capitals had marred the purity of Hindu society, and Moslem domination and tyranny had caused its complete *bouleversement*, there was unrestrained social intercourse between man and woman, as now in England or America. It was not unusual for a lover to prefer his own suit without the intervention of the *Kurtla Mahashay* and *Ghuttak Mahashay*. It was also possible for a young lady to select her bridegroom. Of the eight forms of the nuptial ceremony, enumerated by *Menu*, the *Gândharba*, allowed ample latitude to both the sexes in forming matrimonial alliances of their own accord. Many such marriages are recorded in the *Shastras*. The *Swayambara* form invested the females with the power of choosing their future lords. They used to appear before a host of competitors assembled for the purpose, and were influenced in their choice not only by external appearances, but by the character, antecedents, and accomplishments of the suitors. The nuptial anecdotes of Sita, Damayanti, and Bhanumatti illustrate the extent to which the practice was carried.

The kind and chivalrous treatment of woman is everywhere inculcated in the *Shastras*. *Menu*, while enjoining her to honour her husband and preserve her purity, enjoins also the husband to live in perfect amity with her, 'to have no strife with her; and to consider her as his own body, which is to be understood



in the Scriptural sense of 'flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bone.' Another *Rishi* says, 'strike not even with a blossom a wife guilty of a hundred faults.' The *Tantras* likewise teach the husband to pay profound respect to the wife. The *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, (in the eighth *Ullāsha*) says:—'A wife should never be chastised, but nursed like a mother, and if chaste and loyal, should never be forsaken even under most difficult circumstances.' Again it says that 'the man who makes happy his loyal wife, performs every virtuous action.'\*

Women under the ancient Hindus were certainly more reserved and retired than among the English, but there was nothing like complete seclusion. Such a thing was neither sanctioned by the *Shastras*, nor did it obtain in practice. In the Vedic age, they appeared in public. In the *Rig Veda*, the earliest record of the social organization of the Hindus, we find the following invocation to the Maruts:—'When your brilliant coursers make the mountains echo, and friendly to man traverse the summit of the firmament; then all the forest lords are alarmed at your approach, and the bushes wave to and fro as a woman in a chariot.' Another invocation to the same divinities in the same *Veda* shows in more unmistakeable language that women were not always restricted to the private chambers, but were accustomed to appear in public, at least in religious festivals; viz. the *mūṇtra* which on such occasions was recited aloud. 'In whom the water shedding golden-coloured lightning is fitly deposited like a chapel (of clouds) moving in the firmament like the (splendidly attired) wife of a man (of rank) and distinguished in assembly like a sacrificial hymn.' We learn from the same source that not only were women in ancient India permitted to appear in public, but their rights to a share of the paternal inheritance were distinctly recognized. An invocation to *Ushas* or the Dawn thus describes and compares her:—'She goes to the West as (a woman who has) no brother (repairs) to her male (relatives) and like one ascending the hall (of Justice) for the recovery of property (she mounts in the sky to claim her lustre).'

Far from being sanctioned by *Menu*, the seclusion of woman

\* নভার্বাং তাড়য়েৎ ক্বাপি মাতৃবৎ পালয়েৎ সদা ।

ন ত্যজেৎ ঘোর কষ্টে হপি যদি সাক্ষী পতিব্রতা ॥

বস্মিন্নরে মহেশানি তুফা ভার্যা পতিব্রতা ।

সর্বৌধর্ষঃ কৃতন্তেন ভবতি প্রিয় এব সঃ ॥

অরক্ষিতা গৃহে রুদ্ধাঃ পুরুষৈ রাপ্ত কারিভিঃ ।

আত্মন মাত্ননাযাস্ত রক্ষেষুস্তাঃ সুরক্ষিতাঃ ॥

was distinctly condemned by him. 'By close confinement,' says the Hindu Legislator, 'at home even under affectionate and observant guardians they (women) are not secure, but those women are truly secure who are guided by their own good inclinations.' His institutes provide for women being decorated at festivals and Jubilees, and the *Mahabharat*, *Ramayan*, *Vishnu Puran*, *Malati Madhava*, *Ratnavali*, and *Vicramorbashi* describe them as appearing openly in public at religious festivals and various other occasions, while at such times strangers converse with them without restraint. There was a certain chivalry in the ancient Hindu world. It is well illustrated in the perfect ease and inimitable grace with which *Sacuntala's* companions received Rajah *Dusmanta*. 'There is no impropriety in our sitting here with our guest.' Seclusion came in with the Mahomedans, with whom it is an institution, and was adopted by the Hindus partly from fear and partly from love of imitation. It is confined to certain classes and is not after all so strictly observed as is generally supposed; but even as it is, it should be retained no longer; it should be honoured more in the breach than in the observance; because it is based on the assumption of an authority, which does not appertain to the husband, and is accompanied with the loss of that liberty, of which man has no right to deprive woman. We have attempted to show above that the 'lords of the creation' have exercised mastery over the weaker sex in all ages and in all countries, but we are far from thinking that the universality of a custom can be pleaded in its justification, or even extenuation.

Every consideration of justice and morality imperatively demands the abolition of the unnatural practice of seclusion, which has given rise to and fostered that dissoluteness of manners, which has corroded like a festering sore, the pith of domestic life. When the daughter ceased to quit the mother's side, and the mother ceased to cross the husband's threshold—when in short legitimate female society was no longer attainable—men found that they could not dispense with its attractions. They felt it difficult to exist without the companionship of brighter eyes and lighter hearts than their own. Thus a new demand sprung up. It was supplied in India as in Greece by the lowest classes. The Hindu *Báranganá*, like the Athenian *Hetaira*, appeared on the stage and soon became an important personage in the drama of life. Brought up in all the accomplishments which qualify woman to please the other sex, she became an institution. She was trained, according to *Mritchkahati* and other dramas portraying Hindu manners, to act to perfection the part for which she was destined, the part of *Aspasia* as well as *Lais*; and,



with more excuse than elsewhere, she was accepted as a necessary social evil. But the well-spring of morality once dried up, a nation rapidly degenerates. Vice accepted at first for the sake of its gilding of intellectual and refined pleasure, pleases at length by its very grossness; and we leave our readers to conceive, or rather recommend them not to try to conceive, the results upon native society, of a social system condemned by nature and humanity, but consecrated by the custom of centuries. The allusion of the Rig Veda to *Sadharanceva*, a public or common woman, is indicative of ancient manners. 'The radiant ever-moving *Maruts* have mingled with (their) associate (lightning) like (youths) with common women.'

We now come to the question, 'What are the causes which have prevented and continue to prevent the development of the Hindu female character, as well in the present age as in the past?' We have no hesitation in declaring those causes to be, *1st*, idolatrous rites and antiquated customs; *2nd*, early marriage; *3rd*, polygamy; and *4th*, the utter want of education. All these evils have contributed to dwarf the female intellect and depress the female character.

The religion of the Hindu female is a religion of fear and not of love. It has arisen from a timid and torpid state of mind. It ignores the human and recognises only superhuman power. In the character and attributes of Doorga, Kali, and Krishna—her favourite Devatas—we see how it has filled her mind with ideas of the terrible and the marvellous. The worship of these images, stocks, and stones, and the performance of the endless ceremonies connected with it has exercised a very unfavourable influence on her head and heart. The gross superstition to which she is wedded has inflamed her imagination and dwarfed her understanding. The idolatrous exhibitions in which she delights are a misuse of the highest and strongest feeling of our nature, *viz.*, the religious feeling. Idolatry is a monster evil which is more conspicuously displayed in the women than in the men of this country.

As to the second cause, *viz.*, early marriage, we have no intention to waste the time and trespass on the patience of our readers by dilating on its disastrous effects. We should wish to notice only one objection which is urged by even some enlightened men in these enlightened times against its abolition, *viz.*, the climate of the country. The premature development of the system, which we all lament, is ascribed by many to the influence of climate, and is urged as an excuse for early marriage. It is, however, not difficult to prove that such development is simply the effect—the natural and inevitable effect—of early marriage, and cannot be pleaded in justification of that

institution. The result of the most recent physiological enquiries disproves the theory still entertained in some high quarters that in hot countries the marriageable period is hastened. It is also contradicted by the *moral* laws of the universe; for only assume that its Almighty Author has adapted tropical women to maturity at an age considerably earlier than in temperate and frigid countries, without however endowing them with mental faculties susceptible of the fullest development within the shortest time, then their inferiority is pre-determined, and it will be in vain to apply educational and legislative agencies to the alteration of a condition induced by a physiological difference. This is not the place to dwell on the details of the question, but we may content ourselves with affirming that what we have stated is confirmed by ample proof.

The third cause in our list is the prevalence of the practice of polygamy. No elaborate argumentation is necessary to show that it has lowered the dignity, and vitiated the character, of the female sex in those countries where it has obtained. Suffice it to say that woman oppressed, in India as well as elsewhere, became woman debased.

In 1855, certain enlightened native gentlemen of Calcutta and its suburbs associated themselves together for the promotion of social improvement and presented a petition to the then Legislative Council for an Act against the institution of polygamy as an abuse and perversion, resting upon an unwarrantable interpretation of the *Shastras*. A large number of their countrymen of respectability followed their example, and petitioned the late Council on the same subject and for the same legal boon. The mutinies broke out in 1857, and the Council were too much alarmed by the bugbear of interference to take any action. Though our readers must all admire the excellent provision that in Christendom restrains a man to a single partner without recognizing any circumstances justifying a final release from the claims of matrimony except infidelity to the marriage bed, they will recollect that the orthodox Hindu cannot persuade himself to ask for the total abolition of the institution under all circumstances, as it unhappily happens to be too intimately connected with the popular religion of the country to be thrown aside without injury to the whole social fabric.

To those who profess Hinduism and rest their hopes of future happiness on the rigid performance of the manifold rights it enjoins, the absence of male issue is an unspeakably calamitous visitation, since the disembodied spirit depends (according to Hindu belief) for *salvation* on the regularity with which *Shrad* is solemnized on earth by the surviving progeny of the deceased.



In consequence of this state of things the desire for offspring (common to all mankind) assumes a peculiar degree of intensity in India, and has contributed, in no inconsiderable degree, to the prevalence of polygamy among the Hindus. Such being the case any Act rendering polygamy penal, under every circumstance, would be a direct invasion of the religious liberty of which the enjoyment has been guaranteed to the natives by the Queen's Proclamation. We would, however, suggest the enactment of a law abolishing polygamy except in ascertained cases of infidelity or hopeless sterility.

The last formidable cause of the degradation of the Hindu women—that in fact into which the other causes are more or less resolvable—is their utter want of education. To it must be attributed much that is wrong in their condition. It is a law of our nature that, if God's seed be not sown and cultivated, there will be an enormous yield of devil's weeds in the human heart, and it were false to disbelieve or deny the operation of this law. The true patriot, like the true surgeon, probes the wound to enable him to effect its radical cure. The number of Hindu ladies of the present day that have received a tolerable education is infinitesimal. The educated woman is an exception, a phenomenon. As a rule the females of this country are condemned to fritter away life in the narrow circle of the zenana without any society save that of those who are as uneducated as themselves, without any books, without any cultivation of those mental and moral faculties with which they are endowed. Thus circumstanced, it were affectation to suppose that their minds are not in a very different state from what they might and ought to be. Knowledge is the food of the mind. Ignorance cannot be good for any mind, and its evils are fearfully aggravated in the case of those who are not only left in ignorance themselves, but are doomed to associate with others who are equally ignorant.

The superior claim of women as compared with men to a right education is undeniable. They are the great educators of men, the sole educators for the first decade of life. A nation the women of which are ignorant, can be but half-civilized. Civilization and female ignorance are incompatible. The multiplicity of his avocations prevents the father from attending to a child; they can at best concede him intervals rather for desultory instruction than systematic education. The first and most important education is obviously that given by the mother, which no after-tutors, schools, or lectures can replace. Attached to a child by the daily and nightly bond of care for its infant wants, the mother must interweave indissolubly with those tender ties the lessons of instruction. We cannot estimate the influence for

good upon (for instance) the future landed proprietors of the country, which a generation of educated and careful mothers might effect.

But the Hindu woman is most unfortunately circumstanced. She is indifferent to the drama of her child's development—to the delightful reward of an enduring influence for good. She is endowed with feeling, and is at once very childlike and childish. One of the prominent traits of her character is irritability and easily raised emotions—the ready quick passage from the inward to the outward, and conversely—from Poojahs to Pittahs. She is occupied with little things, engrossed with little affairs, bewildered with little cares, and oppressed with little troubles. She lives but for trifles. Hers is a childhood of *Khelaghur*, a youth of *Joshuns* and necklaces and an old age of grumbling and unhappiness. Nurtured in superstition, and trained in the *zenana*, the character of the Hindu woman develops itself under peculiar difficulties. She is taught to worship a *Kali* and a *Krishna*, whom men with any of the nobler impulses of humanity would have blushed to name. But Hinduism, necessarily and fearfully perverted, has not been wholly able to efface in her the attributes of womanhood. Love is the life-spirit of the Hindu woman as it is that of all women whether located in the torrid or temperate zone. How intense that feeling is, and how little it depended on encouragement and reciprocity was evidenced by the revolting rite of Suttee. True to her unbroken nature, she loses herself and what she has of heart and happiness in the object she loves. The present only exists in her, and this present is not indefinite but determinate, not an abstract but a concrete one—it is one only human being. As Swift loved not the human race, but only individuals belonging to it, so the Hindu woman, though possessed of the warmest heart, is not a Cosmopolitan—not even a citizen of her village or *gram*,—but only of her home. Domestic life is the chief sphere of her influence. We would not wish it otherwise, but she requires education that she may be appropriately and beneficially employed there.

We would not insult the understandings of our readers by pointing out that Hindu women are rational beings and capable of an excellence which, if fostered and developed, may and must react on society. Neither is it necessary to fortify this position by a citation of the examples of female geniuses. True, we can point out but a few such geniuses—a Boswadoi, a Sità, a Khona, a Viga, a Mullicka, an Augar, and a Gurgah. But we must judge of Hindu women, as of English women in this respect, not according to what is done by the masses, but by the few distinguished above their fellows.



The highest is the measure of the man,  
 And not the Kaffir, Hottentot, Malay,  
 Nor those horn-handed breakers of the glebe,  
 But Homer, Plato, Verulam ; even so  
 With women.

They should be taught that moral and intellectual elevation is the great end of their being ; and that it is not a knowledge of European accomplishments that will impart to them real superiority. They may learn to sew and knit, to draw, and be drawn into frivolous conversation, and yet be no wiser than if their only book had been *Chundee*, and their only scientific attainment the preparation of *kasoondée*. The mere imitation of European education is as likely as not to mislead. The education of European ladies is confessedly not the best conceivable, it is open to improvement, and too often subserves purely ornamental purposes. We are not admirers of blue-stockings, but we do think that mere accomplishments should not usurp all the faculties of women.

We readily admit that the education of Hindu ladies should be feminine. But this may be considered a distinction without a difference, as it affects more the manner than the matter of instruction. For it is not so much what is taught as the way in which it is taught and the use made of it, that determines the character.

Education must be adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the Hindu lady as well as to her character, inclinations, and ability. Such adaptability is indeed the keystone of any system of female education that may be adopted. It must be moral as well as intellectual. It must address itself to the heart as well as the head. The reason as well as the memory should be cultivated. Parrotlike lessons should be avoided. Learning by rote does no good in the end. That mode of instruction is unquestionably the best, which calls forth the reasoning as well as the emotional part of our nature. Imagination, engendered by the aspects of nature and fostered by superstition, forms the preponderating element in the character of Hindu women, and the evil effects of its over-indulgence should be counteracted by a system of education which will induce her to think—to compare and apply—to generalize on correct data, and to draw legitimate inferences. By such intellectual discipline alone can we rectify the defect in question. Idleness and listlessness are also grave defects of the character of Hindu ladies. To correct these, we must induce the love as well as the habit of occupation, to excite an interest at the same time that we accustom them to study. They should be well and actively employed. The higher the rank, and the greater the wealth, the more important does diligence become. Want of modesty is, happily not one of the defects of

the Hindu female character. She acts not the dictator except in the pantry. She has neither the inclination nor the ability to preside at a fancy bazar or in a female committee for the illumination of the Fejee Islanders. It is therefore redundant to direct our efforts to the restraining of an ostentatious and vain-glorious disposition. Innate modesty and unobtrusive charity are prominent traits of her character. What is wanted is to direct both, and especially the latter, to proper channels.

Vanity is a feminine weakness in India as well as elsewhere. It is produced and fostered by her charms, which like the lotus of her country's lakes lie on the surface. Man shows himself off on the bench, at the bar, the desk, the counter, in the council-room. Woman has nothing save her outward appearance. It is therefore no wonder that the Hindu woman is passionately fond of a sparkling gold necklace and a glittering diamond *chick*. In justice to her, it must be observed that she is not possessed like her European sister by the clothes-devil—as the old theologians called the toilet. But ornaments are the delight of her existence. They produce habits of forgetfulness and dilatoriness. Hindu ladies are seldom ready till it is too late, and have always forgotten something. But when the heart is cultivated, it no longer hungers and thirsts for trifles. If we were to mark out for the Hindu wife or sister or daughter, a mode of life which would give her an interest in some important business, she would think the less of her person. We would inculcate cheerfulness and merriment in Hindu girls, though their mothers often forbid such indulgence from a misconception of its tendency. They throw sunlight in the paths of life. They do not prevent depth of soul and feeling in women any more than in men. Lycurgus built a temple to laughter. The powers of the mind, as well as those of the body, are developed under external cheerfulness.

With reference to purely intellectual education, let everything be taught a Hindu girl which forms and exercises the habit of attention and the power of judging by the eye. Popular Astronomy will expand the mind and carry it from nature up to nature's God. History and Geography will free the mind from the prejudices of the nursery and will inoculate it with correct ideas of the seats, the causes, and the progress of civilization. Geography, as a mere register of places, is as worthless for mental development as that petrified history which deals only with battles and sieges. They must be taught as studies elucidating the physical and mental history of the globe. We would teach *composition*, but the themes must be drawn not from the abstractions of metaphysicians, but from the observa-



tions and actualities of life. We would also teach music—vocal and instrumental. It is the Æolian lute which cheers the path of women with its echo of youth far into the decline of life. To educate the eye, we would teach the first principles of drawing, but we would not have an undue portion of time devoted to it, as such time might be more profitably employed in domestic duties.

These studies will no doubt be scouted by some as superfluous and even mischievous, as disqualifying Hindu ladies from the performance of domestic duties. No reasonable fear need be however entertained on this head. It will be evident to the unprejudiced mind that they will help to mould female influence, and thus to improve the character of society. We do not contemplate the creation of a tribe of literary and scientific ladies, who soaring into the etherial regions, will not condescend to interest themselves in mundane affairs. We simply desire to produce a class of intelligent and cultivated wives and mothers. There is nothing that a woman ought to do that an educated woman will not do as well or better than an illiterate one. Far be it from us to underrate housekeeping and the ‘accomplishments,’ as they are called; but we hold that the capacity to cook and to operate on Berlin wool are not the *summum bonum* of woman. Should it be sufficient if the Hindu ladies can prepare a hot curry and sew, and knit and net? Could not their intellectual and moral faculties be as sedulously and successfully cultivated as those of men? Before and after a *wife* and *mother*, a Hindu woman is a *human being*. The education which cultivates the human relation need not oppose nature, which has framed her to be a wife and mother. Its object should be not to vanquish or strangle, but to make the whole nature complete by softening, purifying, and harmonizing the various impelling forces by other regulative forces. These may be platitudes, but they should be iterated and reiterated till organised efforts for the improvement of the condition of Hindu women are set on foot. An education that illumines the mind and quickens the soul is the grand remedial agent for emancipation and elevation. Educate woman, and she will attain her rightful position; she will cease to be victimised by priests, and trampled upon by relatives; she will spontaneously snap her trammels and stand forth in the broad sunshine of moral and intellectual freedom.

We have said that the number of Hindu women who have received any thing like an education is infinitesimally small. Nor is this to be wondered at, when it is remembered that the efforts *heretofore made* for their enlightenment have been isolated and

not often well-directed. To that noble and disinterested body of men—the Protestant Missionaries of India—must be accorded the credit of commencing the good work of Hindu female education. Almost every Mission in this part of the country has at one time or another, attempted to establish female schools. In October 1862, we visited the female school attached to the Burdwan Mission. We found it full and very well conducted. We took some pains to examine the girls and were much gratified with their progress, which reflected great credit on the Revd. Mr. and Mrs. Hasel, both of whom have devoted to it a considerable portion of their time. On the other hand we know of Mission schools which are failures. The cause is obvious. The girls are tempted by a pecuniary gratuity to attend. They belong to the lowest class of society, and are sent to school for no other end than to pocket the pice. They are removed before they make any progress in knowledge, and wedded to illiterate men; their position in life prevents them from pursuing their studies, and they unlearn the little they have learnt at school.

Indeed the success of the Missionaries has by no means been commensurate with their exertions, seconded as these have often been by those of their wives. They are, however, not the less deserving of grateful notice.

Among the pioneers of Hindu female education, Mrs. Wilson ranks the first and foremost. The labours of this most excellent woman have done much good in spite of the great drawback to the success to Missionary schools to which we have adverted. In 1819, the Union School Society was organized in Calcutta. Cheered by the success which had attended its operations among the boys, the Society resolved on extending them among girls. The Secretary was directed to write to Mr. Richard Cecil in England to send out a competent Mistress, and he selected Miss Cooke. Happening to pay a visit soon after her arrival to a Patshallah at Thuntuniah in Calcutta, she excited the curiosity of the passers-by. A crowd soon collected round her and questioned her about the object of her visit. She announced to them her purpose of devoting herself to the instruction of native girls. At this moment, an interesting looking girl asked the Goorumohashoy to instruct her. He rejected her application. This circumstance induced Miss Cooke to ask the people around her if girls, willing to receive instruction, were available. She was told that twenty girls would attend the next day, or as soon as she opened a school. She entered upon her work in right earnest. In the first year, eight schools were established, attended by about 200 girls, who were taught by *Pandits*, and who made satisfactory progress. Miss Cooke after-



wards became the wife of the Revd. Isaac Wilson, but her zeal in the cause of female elevation did not flag. The difficulty of superintending so many schools suggested to her the plan of substituting for them a central institution. In order to effect this object, a special Society for the promotion of native female education was formed in 1824. On the 18th of May 1826, the foundation-stone of the Central School in Simla, in Calcutta, was laid. The late Rajah Buddonath Roy subscribed twenty thousand rupees towards the erection, and this munificence is properly commemorated by the following inscription on a marble tablet inserted into the wall of the Hall of the School :—

‘This Central School, founded by a Society of Ladies for the education of native female children, was greatly assisted by a liberal donation of Rs. 20,000 from RAJAH BUDDONATH ROY BAHADOOR, and its objects further promoted, and funds raised by Charles Knowles Robinson, Esq., who planned and erected this building—1828.’

The Central School commenced its operations on the 1st of April 1828, and has been the means of giving instruction to a large number of girls in the elementary branches of learning and in needlework. But it met with an insuperable obstacle to success in the condition and character of the classes from which its pupils were recruited, and it has certainly not done so much good as could be wished.

At length, the truth began to be recognised ‘that it was essential to success that female education should be invested with respectability in the estimation of the native community.’ The Honourable Drinkwater Bethune, who devoted himself heart and soul to the elevation of this country, was the first to act on it. Animated by a genuine philanthropy, he came out not with a view to increase his income, but to benefit his fellow-beings. Deeply interested in the moral and mental enlightenment of the natives, he soon perceived the bearing of female education to that object. He bestowed much thought on the subject, and came to the conclusion at which every thoughtful man must arrive, that for the successful introduction of anything worthy of the name of a national system of female education, it was necessary to begin with the upper ten thousand. He accordingly came to the resolution of establishing a School for the higher classes on a worthy scale. His plan received the support of several enlightened and influential native gentlemen. The foundation stone of his School was laid with Masonic honours in 1848. The building was soon completed, being in the *Corinthian style* and an ornament to the town; and the School was open-

ed in May 1849. It was a great experiment,—and there were many, who like ourselves, waited with anxiety its development.

The Bethune School was inaugurated under favourable auspices. A most efficient instructive staff was appointed, and every reasonable concession to the quasi-religious prejudices of the natives was made. The number of pupils soon rose to sixty. But the excitement died away, and there was a falling off in the number. The premature death of Mr. Bethune also marred the success of his enterprise. It is true that after that melancholy event Lady Dalhousie undertook to defray the charges of the School, and on her death, Lord Dalhousie continued the subscription (Rs. 600 *per mensem*), but the noble zeal which the founder had brought to bear on the institution was wanting. In 1855, the number of girls was reduced to twenty. It rose to fifty-three in the following year. In order to secure efficient supervision, as well as create a more general interest in the School, Government appointed in the same year, at the suggestion, we believe, of the Rev. Dr. Duff, a Committee of native gentlemen, under the presidency of the Honourable Cecil Beadon, a tried friend of native education. We are happy to be able to say that, after considerable fluctuations, the attendance is now slowly and steadily increasing, and the School is in a flourishing condition.

History, Biography, Natural History, Geography, Reading and Writing both in English and Bengali, and plain needle and fancy work are taught in it. The Bethune School might have been in advance of public feeling at the time it was inaugurated, but we hope and believe that public feeling has now come up to it, and that it will do the work which its philanthropic founder intended it should do.

The impulse which female education in India received from the zeal of the late Mr. Bethune, has carried it onwards. It has gained a footing, and we have reasonable grounds for hope that it is steadily, though slowly, progressing. In the General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1859-60, Mr. Inspector Woodrow reports favourably of the private schools in his division, founded and maintained by educated natives, and states that 'from the exertions that are being made by many students of the Presidency College to educate their wives and sisters at home, and by statements which have been made by well-informed gentlemen at the College Debating Society, I believe that female instruction is steadily advancing.'

It appears from the report of Public Instruction for the official year 1860-61, that in the division of East Bengal, there were *seven aided Schools*, numbering 166 girls against four



aided Schools, numbering ninety-one girls during the previous session. There were besides three private and two indigenous female Schools under improvement by the Circle System in the South Bengal Division.

We are glad to learn from the General Report of Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces for 1862-63 (the last published record of the operations of the Education Department) that the cause of female improvement is gathering strength. Mr. H. Woodrow, the Inspector of the Central Division, reports that the native girls' schools have risen as regards number in a most encouraging manner. The total number of females under instruction in sixteen girls' schools, and zenana Associations assisted by Government, in boys' schools, and in six private schools in his division, is 999. In the Report for the year 1860-61, the corresponding number in his division was eighty-nine—a more than ten-fold increase in two years is certainly a subject of gratulation to the friends of female improvement. The testimony to the rapid extension of education in private families is so general that Mr. Woodrow is obliged to accept it as a gratifying fact, though from the peculiar constitution of Hindu society he can give no direct evidence concerning its progress. In thirteen girls' schools in Calcutta, 24-Pergunnahs, Hooghly, and Nuddea, there were 443 pupils. In the zenana Associations under the Normal School and Mrs. Murray, there were 235 girls, and in the private female schools in Santipore, Baraset, Dukhin Baraset, Utterparah and Bally, Jhingreh and Chakla, there were 217 pupils. The Kemeah Circle female school numbered sixteen, and the number of girls attending boys' school (aided and circle) was eighty-eight.

Mr. Martin, the Inspector of the South-East Division, states that there were almost 500 girls receiving education in his district, and gives some interesting details regarding the Dacca adult female School and Pubna School for girls and adults. The former is attended by ladies of from twelve to forty years old. The early age at which the girls who used to attend the Schools, married and ceased from their studies, has been hitherto the great bar to the advancement of the pupils. This difficulty has in the Dacca Circle at least been removed. The Pubna female School is conducted by Bama Soondry, 'a very respectable Brahmin lady, of high scholastic attainments.' The school is held both in the morning and evening, and imparts instruction to women of advanced age as well as girls whose ages vary from five to eleven. A female Normal School opened on the 11th of May 1863 at Dacca, and will, it is to be hoped, supply the want of *mistresses*.

In the South-West Division, Mr. Medlicott reports that he has visited several private and aided girls' schools in which the children have learnt to read and write creditably. He adds that 'they all have a strangely exotic or rather unnatural appearance. A master, not a mistress presides, and I have never seen needlework of any kind practised.' The experiment is evidently in its infancy in this division.

In Assam a girl's school was established in 1860. It was opened by Deputy Inspector Baboo Utsabanund Gossain, and was most carefully tended by him. His brother Baboo Chundra Mohun Gossain has also succeeded in establishing three more schools of the same description. Mr. Robinson, the late Inspector, North-East division, notices the establishment of an interesting girl's school in the town of Bograh through the exertions of Baboo Bhubun Mohun Raha, Deputy Inspector of Schools, and Baboo Kisto Coomar Sen, Head Master of the English School, and the cheerful assistance given them by Sooshila Soondry, wife of the latter, without which their own efforts would have been of little avail. We agree with Mr. Robinson in thinking that, if there had been a few more such educated Hindu women as Sooshila, the number of schools for girls would rapidly increase, but with the general movement now so perceptible in favour of female education, we may with confidence look forward to their number increasing.

It is a great thing, however, to have made a beginning, specially in districts hithertofore impervious to female illumination, and we trust that no endeavour will be wanting on the part of the officers of the Education Department to persevere steadily in the good work they have commenced, and to exert themselves as much in the promotion of female education, as several of them have done in that of the boys of their divisions and districts.

The facts and figures given by them in their reports show the present is a period of growth and will prove a turning point in the history of the Hindus, which will be looked back to with admiration and gratitude by succeeding generations. We have not attempted to give any thing like a history of the educational efforts made on behalf of the Hindu women, but have contented ourselves with a sketch, necessarily brief, of the origin and progress of the principal private and Government institutions for the education of females. We have only to mention one other noble attempt in this direction. We refer to the efforts of the Revd. Dr. Duff to introduce female education amongst the higher classes of natives by the foundation of a school designed for this end and designated after him 'Dr. Duff's Female School.' This institution has been in existence for seven years. It is situated



in the heart of the native part of the town. This and the Bethune School are admittedly powerful instruments for the elevation of the Hindu women.

But one or two such institutions are obviously inadequate, and cannot meet the necessities of the case. Why then should they not be multiplied through the length and breadth of the land? A tithe of the money now frittered away in idle exhibitions would suffice to maintain many such institutions. There is a Chamber of Commerce which represents the interests of the Merchants in India. There is a British Indian Association which is an exponent of the views and wants and wishes of the native community, and which aims at their political elevation. Why should not a society be formed for the promotion of female education by the extension of such schools and the preparation of vernacular books for their use? Individual and isolated efforts will be thus concentrated and utilized. We urge an Association, because associated zeal and energy, and patriotism, and philanthropy have achieved miracles in other parts of the world. In the details of such a Society the assistance of Missionaries and official gentlemen would often prove very valuable. The paucity of books adapted to female schools hampers their operations. Though the native press has been recently unprecedentedly active, yet a great deal of what is issued from it, is trash or worse than trash, and therefore by no means fitted for the study of girls. The proposed society should therefore direct its attention to the supply of books. We advocate the extension of schools, because we believe school instruction is after all the best and most efficacious means for the promotion of female education.

We are aware that the great drawback to it is the early marriage of the Hindu girls and their consequent withdrawal from school. We know that very often the mind of a girl is cultivated to a point of intellectual activity and capacity for varied and right sympathies and then left to the resources of cooking and jewel-wearing. We admit that in a country where girls marry and exchange their father's home for their husband's at an early age, any great success cannot be immediately anticipated from schools. But the evil complained of is daily diminishing, and will, we hope, soon cease to impede the operations and neutralize the benefits of schools. The necessity of postponing the celebration of the marriage of their girls, pending their further advancement in knowledge, is now recognized by many native parents.

There are those who underrate school instruction and overrate domestic instruction. They prefer the latter to the former, because they believe it to be more consonant with, or rather

less repugnant to, native usages and customs. Far be it from us to depreciate domestic education. We believe on the contrary that it may be in the beginning necessary in many cases. We also believe that, if fairly tried, it may succeed. We are glad it is spreading and should be proud to assist in its diffusion. But we can advocate it not as a finality—an *ultimatum*—but as a tentative and transitional measure. We remember with the most lively interest the operations of the scheme of zenana teaching initiated by the Revd. T. Smith, and energetically carried out by Messrs. Fordyce and Pourie. Several native gentlemen of respectability assure us that, having tried both domestic and school instruction in the family, they found the latter far more efficacious. It is no wonder that school instruction should succeed where domestic education should fail. The one is lifeless, whereas the other is instinct with animation. It is very dull work—that of a governess teaching one or two pupils. Both the teacher and the taught participate in the dulness. They cannot resist catching, so to speak, the torpidity of the thing. The efficiency of school instruction depends, on the other hand, on the *living* contact of spirit with spirit. It is to be ascribed to the sympathy of numbers, which has an electric effect. Iron sharpens iron. The sympathy of numbers leads to the formation and development of right sympathies, which is of the first importance. It breaks up the old ground and lets in new light, revealing a new world and its wondrous creations.

We cannot conclude without reminding our native readers again that the social status held by the women of any country is the true test of its civilization; Tennyson has truthfully and beautifully said—

‘The woman’s cause is man’s : they rise or sink  
Together, dwarfed or Godlike, bond or free.’

We therefore entreat such of our readers as represent Enlightened Bengal to compassionate the condition of Benighted Bengal, and to respond with all earnestness to her appeal now uttered with ‘the sound of thunder heard remote,’ and announcing the advent of a future which will bless India with fertilizing showers, and sweep away the plague-spots from its surface. We would urge them in the name of their country to put forth all their energies for the emancipation and elevation of their women. We call upon them in the name of the principles they have imbibed to enter a *practical* protest against those superstitious laws and institutions which outrage the laws and institutions of God, which have so long tended to degrade the Hindu women in the eyes of men, interfered with the sacredness of the domestic relation, and infected the whole social system.



ART. VI.—1. *The House of Scindia. A Sketch.* By John Hope, London: 1863.

2. *Dhar not restored; in spite of the House of Commons and of Public Opinion.* By John Dickinson, F. R. A. S., &c., London: 1864.

PERHAPS no more convincing proof could be desired that the people of England are beginning to take an interest in India in matters unconnected with mercantile gains, than the publication of these two volumes within a year of each other. These books are not addressed to the mercantile classes, nor promise new openings for the investment of capital. Whether they will find readers beyond a very limited circle may be doubtful. But the fact that within one year authors have been found to write, and publishers to publish, two volumes on questions affecting only the interests of Native States may be supposed to indicate the existence of some demand for works of the kind, and the germination of an opinion which may in time grow to be a public opinion on such subjects. It is to be hoped that those, whether few or many, who do take an interest in Indian political questions, will meet with advisers distinguished for more enquiring self-distrusting modesty, and less virulence and partisanship than the writers of the two volumes before us. No Indian questions require to be approached with more of the calm and impartial spirit of the historian than those of the relations of the British Government to Native States; unfortunately they have been seldom discussed save with the malignity of the partisan. It has been the fashion with some writers to decry the policy of the British Government towards Native States as one of uniform and iniquitous spoliation. No provocation can in their eyes justify aggression on any Native Chief. Native Princes have rights, but no duties; the British Government lies under obligations to them, but has no correlative rights. How far such writers are generally consistent with each other, we have an example in these volumes. In the one Lord Ellenborough is denounced as 'rapacious for territory' and 'firmly resolved first to disregard the rights of Scindia and then to deprive him of his independence. The other is dedicated to him as one of the 'first ministers for India who, after a long interval, revived by word and deed the hopes of Indian princes and people in the 'justice of the British Government.'

*There is no Native State whose history has been more closely*

interwoven with the policy and progress of the British Government than that of Gwalior. During their early struggle for supremacy, the British found no more formidable and persistent foe than the Sindia family; of late years they have had few steadier friends. While yet the English had not ceased to beg for commercial privileges, Sindia had made himself master of the person of the Mogul Emperor, reduced to tributary subjection the oldest dynasties of Rajpootana and Malwa, and made himself powerful enough to dictate his will to the Peishwa, whose vassal and soldier he professed to be. At the present day he is the vassal of the British power, which he first despised, then feared and now obeys. His seal is in the name of the Queen of England. His flag is the Union Jack. During the eighty-five years which have elapsed since Madhojee Sindia was the author and the eye-witness of the disgrace of the British arms at Wurgaoon, there have been few political or military movements of any importance in the central parts of India, which have not been more or less influenced by the actions of the House of Sindia. The history of that House is the political history of the British Government. Mr. Hope, as surgeon for many years of the Gwalior Court, had peculiar facilities for writing a valuable book, which might have thrown much new light on the native view of the acts and policy by which the British Government has risen to its present supremacy in India. He has preferred to write a sketch of the Court intrigues which led to the war of 1843, a sketch written with the most questionable taste and which, while claiming to 'at least have the merit of being substantially true,' contains nearly as many errors of fact as there are pages in the book. These errors too are made the basis of the most pungent sarcasms and severe strictures on the motives and policy of the British Government, and are the more unpardonable in a writer who thinks it necessary to insult his readers in the first lines of his work, by presuming an ignorance on their part which may possibly lead them to confound the House of Sindia with the country of Sind.

The explanations necessary for the refutation of Mr. Hope's numerous errors of fact are too lengthy and involve too much argumentation to be suitable for this Review; but a few of them will appear in the sequel. In some instances, however, for example when (pp. 67-8) he states that after the war of 1843, Major John Jacob and Major Alexander, two Christian officers in Sindia's service, were BANISHED FOR LIFE, Mr. Hope has been guilty of more than inaccuracy. His book is addressed to the English public and, in printing the three



words above in capital letters, he must have intended to convey deliberately the idea which the English public usually attach to banishment for life. The facts are, that the two officers were removed from Gwalior to Agra, a distance of about sixty miles, and forbidden to re-enter Gwalior territory. We believe that they were pensioned. If the reader will imagine a political offender removed from Edinburgh to Carlisle and forbidden to cross the Scottish border, he will have an accurate idea of the treatment of the two officers.

The object of Mr. Hope's book is to prove, by illustration drawn from a fragment of Sindia's history, that the effect of the establishment of the British supremacy in India has been to change the great chiefs from warriors to women; that the British Government is hated both by chiefs and people; and that this hatred is the necessary result of the aggressive policy of the British Government towards Native States generally.

*Pages 16-18.*—'Dowlut Rao Scindia, an adopted son, succeeded the founder of his House. By this time the British power had become paramount in India, and the new prince, a man of moderate capacity, was compelled by us to give up a course of pillage and conquest. Lord Wellesley drew up a Treaty, the famous one of Bassein, than which none had ever a more withering influence upon the great chiefs of the country. By its terms the British Government, to avoid all semblance of partiality, determined that actual possessors at that date, 1803, should be regarded as rightful possessors, thus erecting for the numerous class of petty chiefs, the feudal lords of the country, that solid and lasting foundation for their possessions which had never existed before. The effect which this master-stroke of policy gradually produced in the character of the native princes, it is impossible to estimate fully. Thirty years afterwards, search where you would within the circle of India as then formed, no Mahdajee Scindia, Jeswunt Rao Holkar, or Ameer Khan, generals of the soil, could anywhere be found. \* \* \* \* \* By putting an end to military enterprises, Lord Wellesley destroyed the school for native generals. The consequence is, the descendants of the old Indian warriors, the present princes, have no martial disposition; but, with rare exceptions, pass their days amongst the females of the zenana, or, bespangled with splendid ornaments that are becoming in our eyes only to women, while away their time listening to the monotonous sound of the tom-tom.'

The Treaty of Bassein, it may here be remarked, initiated no new policy; but merely extended to the Peshwa the system of subsidiary alliance which, three years before, had been agreed to by the Nizam after the fall of Tippoo Sultan. Lord Wellesley's 'master-stroke of policy' dates from the year 1800, not from 1803. The Treaty of Bassein was a defensive Treaty with the British Government to which none of the great chiefs of India except the Peshwa were parties. It bound the Peshwa to receive in his territories a British Subsidiary Force; and it bound both the contracting parties 'to employ all practical means of conciliation

'to prevent the calamity of war,' and at all times to 'be ready to enter into amicable explanations with other states, and to cultivate and improve the general relations of peace and amity with all the powers of India according to the true spirit and tenor of this defensive Treaty.' The historical importance of this Treaty is due to nothing new in its terms or policy, but simply to the fact that it was the immediate occasion of the establishment of the British supremacy in India. Sindia and Holkar found that the secret of their power had gone from them. With British troops at Poona, they could no longer domineer over the Peshwa and use his name to throw the sanction of a national cause over their unrighteous spoliations. They stood unmasked as rapacious freebooters. So, with the Bhonsla, they tried the chance of war; they were defeated, and the British supremacy was established for ever.

Well would it have been for India, well for chiefs and people, if Lord Wellesley's policy had been left to bear its peaceable fruits. For the first time in the history of India, there was a controlling power, whose avowed principles were peace and good will. At no period of the history of India, previous to the British ascendancy, did the native chiefs recognize any system of public law, any reciprocal rights and duties, any restraints on their own ambition. War, rapine, and conquest were their avowed principles. From the Indus and Ganges to the confines of Mysore, and in the east from Bundelcund and the Northern Circars westward to the sea, the Mahratta confederacy had established their power. But even among themselves the Mahratta leaders were not at peace. Except in aggressions on a foreign power they never united. Sindia plundered Holkar, the Puâr, and the Bhonsla. Holkar plundered the Guikwar and even drove the Peshwa himself from his capital. The oldest Rajpoot States were swallowed up in their conquests or devastated by their marauding armies. Surely it was a glorious policy, fruitful in good alike to chiefs and people, to establish the rule of law above all this disorder. No territorial acquisitions were coveted. The British possessions were carefully limited to the east of the Jumna; but Sindia and Holkar were driven from the northern provinces of India, and the Rajpoot chiefs were freed from the ruinous scourge of the plundering Mahratta armies. Every one knows how this policy of peace was reversed by the narrow views of Lord Wellesley's successors; and how all the country west and south of the Jumna was for twelve years given over to the tender mercies of the 'generals of the soil,' till the utter desolation which they wrought in the finest provinces of Central India and Rajpootana compelled the Marquis of Hastings



to revive that policy which Lord Wellesley had initiated, and against the abandonment of which Lord Lake had vehemently and ably protested. These generals of the soil were neither more nor less than leaders of Pindaree hordes.

'Jeswunt Rao\* was never more than the chief of an army of plunderers to whom he had given the aid of his talents, his name, and his cause, and who in return supported him throughout the vicissitudes of his turbulent life. He directed without controlling their licentiousness; and they, awed by his vigour and soothed by his ample indulgence to their worst excesses, gave him an obedience that raised him to a height which made him terrible as a destroyer. It may be questioned by those who seek to palliate his crimes whether he could have enjoyed power or any other condition. But it must be admitted that the part which he acted was quite congenial to his character.'

Ameer Khan, his brother and companion in arms, was worse. To all the want of principle conspicuous in Jeswunt Rao, he added the cunning and cruelty of the Afghan. Dowlut Rao Sindia was little better. Of less force of character than Jeswunt Rao, Holkar, and Ameer Khan, he made himself less conspicuous by his excesses. But by habit and disposition he was essentially a Pindaree.†

Each of these 'generals of the soil', had a small force of disciplined troops as the nucleus of his armies, but these were swallowed up in the horde of plunderers and free-booters. Every criminal who escaped from justice, every soldier discharged from service, vagabonds who were tired of the restraints of a peaceful life, all found ready service with the free-lances. These robbers were divided into two great classes named after their respective chiefs, the Sindia Shahee and the Holkar Shahee, the Sindians and the Holkarites. The character of their campaigns was what might be expected from the nature of the armies. Plunder was their vocation, not fighting. The atrocious cruelties, the desolation, and misery, which marked the track of these 'land-pirates,' are too well known to need description. In one raid which lasted twelve days, of which we have the particulars before us, 337 villages were plundered, 182 persons killed, 504 wounded, 3,604 put to the torture to disclose their wealth, and property to the value of £80,000 was destroyed or carried off. The twelve years during which the central districts of India were abandoned to the mercy of the 'generals of the soil' are

\* Malcolm's Malwa, page 161.

† Marquis of Hastings' Narrative of Political Operations in Hindostan and the Deccan, March 1820. Hence the severe correctness of Lord Ellenborough's description of Jyajee Sindia as 'a relation of robber chiefs,' to which Mr. Hope takes such unreasonable exception, and which he probably did not understand;—p. 80

talked of to this day in the country as 'the time of trouble' and 'the great famine.'

The greatest and most lasting blessing ever conferred on India through means of the British power was the suppression of this predatory system of which Sindia, Holkar, and Ameer Khan were the moving spirits. Greater was it than all we have since done by roads or railways, by European science or European capital, by education or legislation; for without it no progress or improvement was possible. This policy, which Mr. Hope stigmatizes as having a withering effect on the great chiefs of the country, literally turned swords into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks. Two years after the establishment of that supremacy in Central India which had been forced upon the British Government, Sir John Malcolm thus writes :—

'When the British armies entered Malwa, and so late as February 1818, that country was not safe for even troops to pass; and till the end of 1818, when the cantonment had been established at Mhow, those robbers and thieves who had so long desolated this part of Malwa, continued their depredations. In the year 1820, these have not only been repressed, but the vicious and depraved part of the community by whom they were committed has become sensible to the blessings of a better course of life; and from the territories of Bhopaul to those of Goozerat along the right bank of the Nerbuddah, and as far as from Hindia to the country of Burwanee on its left, the spirit of industry and improvement has been spread. Men long known as the chiefs of plunderers are now contending for rights belonging to their ancestors as hereditary cultivators; new villages are rising everywhere, and forests long deemed inaccessible are fast clearing on account of the profit derived from the timber required to rebuild towns and cities. Between Jaum and Mandoo, the Bheels, before subject to Nadir Singh, are cultivating every spot, and their hamlets are rising with a rapidity that gives promise of an early and complete change in the whole face of the country. Many districts in this quarter might be mentioned that are literally recovered from a complete waste. Maunpore, which belongs to Scindiah, has not paid revenue for sixty years, and in 1817 had not one inhabitant; it has now more than twenty families. But none have undergone a greater change within the last few years than the districts of Burdiah and Kannapore, which are situated on the left bank of the Nerbuddah. By an account taken in 1818, when these came into the possession of the English Government, there was only one inhabited village in Kannapore, and in Burdiah none. By a report of their state in A. D. 1820, there are fourteen in Kannapore and thirteen in Burdiah.'

Upwards of a hundred petty chiefs, for the most part Rajpoots, the representatives of old dynasties, were rescued from destruction by the interference of the British Government and restored to their States; so that, in spite of all the outcry that has been made about annexation, it may justly be the boast of the British Government that it has preserved more Native States than it has absorbed. The benefit of this policy to the great chiefs



was no less than to the cultivators of the soil, and the Rajpoot chieftains to whom interference was not only welcome, but by whom it had been invited. 'In A. D. 1817, there was not one district belonging to Scindiah in Malwa that was not more or less in a disturbed state. In 1820, there is\* not one enemy to the public peace.' The increase of Sindia's revenues was general in all his districts. In some it rose from ten to fifteen per cent., while in others the revenues, in two years, were multiplied more than six-fold. In Holkar's territories in 1817, there were 1,663 roofless villages without a single inhabitant; 1,120 of these had been re-occupied in the three following years. When the British troops entered Malwa, the revenues of Dhar were not more than Rs. 20,000; in 1820, they had risen to Rs. 2,77,000; and ninety-eight villages which were 'without a lamp' had been re-peopled. In Dewas, within the same period, the revenues had risen from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 1,09,375, and 141 deserted villages were reoccupied by busy inhabitants.

We are not careful to follow Mr. Hope in his raillery against the system on which justice is administered in British territories in India. The sweeping reforms that have recently been introduced will in time tell their own tale. But with all the evils, and they were both numerous and great, which were inherent in the old system, the subjects of the British territories enjoyed a security of life and property unknown at this day in any Native State in India. Mr. Hope (p. 5.) of course is of a different 'conviction, knowing well that if the 'people of India—the 180 millions—could go to the poll on a 'choice of Governments, an almost countless majority would 'prefer a native one, (though, as a matter of course, it preyed 'extensively upon their industry and wealth), to one which was 'ever supervising and controlling every act of their public life, 'and haunting them with the vision of an English court of 'law.' We will not 'wanton in common topics' and generalities, but give some instances in which the people of India have actually 'gone to the poll on a choice of Governments.' Fortunately the history of the House of Sindia itself presents one or two notable examples.

Midway between Bhopal and Ojein lies the district of Soojawulpore, of which the western portion belonged to Sindia, and the eastern fell to the British Government by conquest in the Pindaree war, and continued under British rule till 1831 when, for reasons of administrative convenience, it was transferred to Sindia in exchange for other lands of equal value, in

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\* Malcolm's Malwa.

spite of the unanimous wish of the people. Mr. Wilkinson, the Political Agent at Bhopal, who had administrative charge of the district, and travelled through it while the negotiations with Sindia were being conducted, describes the anxiety and alarm exhibited by all classes of the population at the coming change as most deep and affecting. Wherever he went he was besieged with petitions from land-owners, husbandmen, and bankers, 'individually and in private, collectively and in public,' with earnest and energetic entreaty that they might not be removed from the protection of the British rule. They even offered of themselves to increase their revenue payments twenty-five per cent. on condition of being saved from Sindia's government. But it was all unavailing. Although the Gwalior Durbar exhibited the utmost indifference to the exchange, and left the conclusion of the bargain entirely optional with the British Government, the wishes and interests of the whole population of Eastern Soojawulpore were sacrificed, and their country was made over to the scourge of a Mahratta Government. The evils which the people anticipated immediately overtook them. Duties on grain were forthwith reimposed; the rents of the husbandmen were raised thirty per cent.; and the local officials commenced to batten on the villages of the district. This wanton and unjustifiable sacrifice by the British Government of the rights of its subjects, this abnegation of its first duty as a Government, met with a noble and just reproof from the Court of Directors. 'The bond between Government and its subjects,' they wrote, 'ought to be treated with profound respect; nor ought a Government to think itself at liberty to hand over a portion of its subjects to another master, when they anticipate calamity to themselves from the change, unless when some great interest of the state, some high call of duty to the great body of its subjects, imperatively requires it.'

The same aversion to Sindia's rule was displayed five years later, when the British Government restored to Sindia the districts in Candeish of which they had acquired the management in 1820. Petitions were presented 'from every village about to be restored.' 'How can you now,' they pleaded, 'after showing us such kindness, and treating us as your children, throw all merciful feeling to us away, and give us entirely up to despair?'

We might instance cases in which Native chiefs themselves have applied to be taken under British rule. For example, such an application was made in 1803 by the chiefs of Cheetul, Jaitpore, Koondala, and Joriabunder in Kattywar. But the request was not complied with; and the country remains to this day



what it was described by Colonel Wilkie\* to be in 1807—a country where the cultivator proceeds armed to his ground, where in each village there is an elevated station from which the approach of marauding horsemen is watched, where the villages are a composition of the rudest hamlets that can be conceived, ‘an ill-governed country’ where ‘life and property are not generally safe.’ It has been no uncommon thing for Native chiefs, when they found their administration in disorder, and their country unsettled and in debt, voluntarily to surrender their power to the British Government for a term of years or till order should be restored, a firm administration established, and their finances retrieved. Edur, Serohi, Sohawul, Myhere, and others have done so with much advantage to themselves and their people. None but the most bigoted enemies of the British policy can seriously maintain that the British rule, with all its faults and sins, is not better, purer, firmer than the rule of the best of Native States, in many of which, even at this day, valuable property cannot be sent a few miles beyond the walled towns without an armed escort, where women are still swung as witches, where as in Oudeypore, the oldest Native State in India, the minister within the last year helped himself to £200,000 of public money, and a man was trodden to death by elephants for the crime of eating beef.

It is well known that, after the suppression of the mutiny of 1857, the British Government with a lavish hand gave away whole provinces to those chiefs who had remained firm in their allegiance. In his great political progress through Upper India in 1859, Earl Canning went not empty-handed. While he punished with sharp word and shorn honour those who had been lukewarm in time of trial and danger, he added largely to the territorial possessions of those chiefs who remained faithful and true. Rewah, Rampore, Punnah, Bikaner, the Sikh States of Puttiala, Jheend, and Nabha, and many others received large accessions to their territories. The inhabitants of nearly all, if not all, the districts made over to these Native chiefs had, it is true, by rebellion voluntarily severed the tie which bound them to the British Government and forfeited their right to its protection. Yet we are credibly informed that from all of these districts numerous petitions † have been presented to Government,

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\* Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. XXXIX. New Series.

† A petition has recently been presented to Government *against* the measures adopted towards Mysore. But it is remarkable that the petitioners, who are for the most part the dependents of the Maharajah, disclaim all desire for a change in the administration, which for the last thirty years

praying that the districts may be again taken under British rule. Even the rule of the Nawab of Rampore, one of the mildest and most intelligent of Native chiefs, and a member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council, has not kept contented the inhabitants of the villages in Moradabad and Bareilly that were made subject to his authority. From Sohagpore which was annexed to Rewah, and the villages that were put under the jurisdiction of Punnah, the cry of the oppressed has been loud. Even as we write, the sound of the Jheend Artillery may be heard in the districts which were granted to the late Rajah in 1859, and which are already in rebellion.

The vexed question of adoption\* as it affects Native States, which Mr. Hope dogmatically disposes of in nine lines, is too wide for full discussion in these pages. Whatever doubt there may be, (and the very highest authorities are divided on the subject) whether the paramount power, in the absence of natural successors to a State, has the right to treat the State as an escheat and withhold its sanction from an adoption, there is almost unanimity of opinion that a widow cannot adopt unless she have received the permission of her husband before his death. The reason of the thing is obvious enough—partly the contempt in which women are held in the East, and partly the principle, most tenaciously adhered to by Indian prejudice, that the continuity of the family stock, once broken, can never be renewed. The consent of the husband creates a fictitious continuity which prevents the extinction of the family. Be this as it may, however the British Government has in practice admitted, or refused to admit, adoptions as suited its convenience and the policy of the day. Jhansi, Jaloun, Sattara, Colaba, and more recently Nag-

has been conducted by officers of the British Government. What they petition for is the perpetuation of the Maharajah's family by the grant to him of the privilege of adoption. But even if the prayer of the petitioners had a wider scope, the manner in which the petition was proposed would deprive it of all weight. It is openly stated in the local prints that the majority of the names were attached by one person, who was furnished with blank sheets for the purpose.

On the other hand we learn that the inhabitants of Anjengo have earnestly petitioned the British Government against their contemplated transfer to the rule of the Rajah of Travancore.

\* Those who desire an able exposition of the doubts and uncertainties which beset this subject, and the inconsistency of the policy of the British Government in respect to it, are referred to Lord Canning's published despatches on the question of adoption. It was the glory of Lord Canning's Administration that he removed these doubts for ever, by guaranteeing to every Native chief the integrity of his possessions, subject to the sole condition of good government and allegiance to the British Crown.



pore are instances in which the British Government has treated the States as escheats. Two instances of the opposite policy will be found in the history of the House of Sindia. It is Mr. Hope's object to prove by apocryphal \* anecdotes that the British Government desired to seize Sindia's country with the least possible damage to its own reputation. Twice the country might have been lawfully taken, but was not.

P. 13.—'As the country is on the whole a poor one, and as it has little trade except in opium and corn, and no manufactures at all worthy of the name (although the shawls of Boorhanpoor are very highly valued by natives), it never could be regarded as a prey worthy of much consideration to the British Government, except for the great natural advantages of its situation. It connects Agra with Bombay. So long as it belonged to Scindia, it was said to be a perpetual obstacle to quick and direct communication between Upper India and England, until the day came when, by the overthrow of the Ameers of Scinde, through "a humane piece of raciality," as cited at the head of this book, the Indus was thrown open to our steamers. The great problem therefore was to discover how this coveted country might fall into our grasp, when its rulers observed, even more than many other chieftains, those amenities which oriental diplomacy has rendered so amusing to John Bull at home.'

Dowlut Rao Sindia died on 21st March 1827, after a long illness, without male issue. He had not only not adopted a son, but had evaded the pressing advice of the British Resident to provide for a successor. He had once indicated in an indefinite way a wish that the Baiza Bai should manage his affairs. When the Resident visited him in his last hours to receive his wishes, the dying chief had only power with his last breath to say, 'I wish you to do whatever you think proper.' After his death a document was produced, unfinished and unsigned, which indicated that the Maharajah had intended to adopt a son. In accordance with what was believed to be his intention, the Baiza Bai was allowed to adopt an heir. Five boys, very distantly related to Dowlut Rao, were brought from a village in the Dekhan. The choice fell on Moogut Rao. He was adopted about the middle of June, nearly three months after Dowlut Rao's death, married to Dowlut Rao's grand-daughter next day, and seated on the musnud on the 19th of June under the name of Junkojee Sindia. He died on 2nd February 1843 under circumstances very similar

\* We do not know on what authority Mr. Hope relates as matter of history the anecdote of the sugarplum. 'If the Gwalior State *will* fall down your throat, you are not to shut your mouth, as Mr. Cavendish did, but swallow it; that is *my* policy.' But we call it apocryphal, because it is inconsistent not only with the character of Lord William Bentinck, but with the assurances which he gave to Junkojee Sindia at his interview with him on 6th December 1832, that the State of Gwalior was independent, and the British Government desired that it should continue so.

to those which preceded the death of Dowlat Rao. He had no sons. He had adopted none. He had more than once been urged to adopt, but had refused.\* After his death his widow was allowed to adopt Jyajee Sindia, the 'little hero' of Mr. Hope's book. Could better proof be found that the British Government did not covet the Gwalior territory? Had the problem been how most easily to annex it, Lord Ellenborough need not have taken the trouble of devising the crooked and dishonest course which Mr. Hope attributes to him, or trusted to the hazard of a costly war. Twice the British Government might have annexed Gwalior with the same show of right as Jhansi or Nagpore. Had Lord Dalhousie been Governor-General instead of Lord Amherst, Lord William Bentinck or Lord Ellenborough, perhaps Agra and Bombay *might* have been connected. But Mr. Hope's whole argument is destroyed by the fact, not only that the annexation of the Gwalior dominions would not have connected Agra and Bombay without the annexation of Holkar's territories also, but that, when the British Government might lawfully have treated the Indore State as a lapse on the death of Khundee Rao Holkar, the succession by adoption of the present chief, Tookajee Rao Holkar, was recognized, and the existence of the Indore State was artificially prolonged, as that of Gwalior had been in 1827 and 1843.

Jyajee Rao Sindia, the present ruler of the Gwalior State, is in character and abilities considerably superior to the average of Indian princes. He is about thirty years of age. In person he is somewhat tall, strongly built, with broad square shoulders, and short neck. His face is intelligent, but wears a forbidding expression, which is increased by his habit of chewing pawn. In his manners he still retains traces of his humble origin. He is not refined; occasionally he is coarse and rude. During his minority he received a careful education under the supervision of the British Government, to which perhaps, rather than to natural inclination, is due the interest which he takes in all departments of his Government. Like the Begum of Bhopaul and the

\* Many native chiefs have displayed a singular reluctance to adopt successors. This may arise partly from the natural unwillingness to give up hope of having heirs of the body; but perhaps more from the fear of a disputed succession in the event of the birth of a son after the celebration of the adoption. Such a contingency, however, has occasionally been provided for by an express stipulation, between the British Government and the chief, that a son of the body born after an adoption shall succeed in preference to the adopted son. This was the case with Hybut Rao Puar, the last chief of Dewas.



late Maharajah of Puttiala, he takes a large personal share of the administration of his territories. He has himself superintended the revenue settlement of some of the largest districts under his rule, and has with his own hands granted leases to the Zemindars. Fond of military display and of the show of military power, he keeps the management of the army in his own hands, carefully selects his officers, and holds frequent reviews of his troops, which he delights to parade in the presence of British officers. Of no portion of his army is he more justly proud than of his artillery. A graceful rider, he is vain of exciting admiration by the rapid evolutions of his chargers, which are carefully trained after native fashion. Skill in horsemanship, or in sword exercise, or with the spear, is sure to call forth his commendation and meet with reward. Pride, caprice, and instability of purpose, are his most conspicuous failings, to which may be added a dash of the old Mahratta greed of money. He is keenly sensitive of praise or blame. None knew this better than Lord Canning, to whom Jyajee Rao Sindia was warmly attached; and none could have made a better use of the influence which this knowledge gave him. He is childishly jealous of his reputation, anxious to show himself independent of his advisers, and has not strength of mind enough to see that praise bestowed on his ministers is credit given to himself. To this weakness are perhaps to be ascribed the dismissal of his able minister Dinker Rao, and the appointment of an old and stupid successor. Sindia never could get over the warm terms\* in which Lord Canning addressed Dinker Rao in open durbar at Agra, before the assembled chiefs of Central India. On the whole however his government is good; in few native states is the administration better. The weakest part of it is the administration of justice and police. The ravines of the Chumbul, which afford excellent refuge to dacoits and criminals, give Sindia much trouble.

Mr. Dickinson's book is avowedly written with a view to parliamentary agitation. Calmness and fairness of statement there-

\* "Dewan Dinker Rao; with the concurrence of your sovereign and master the Maharajah of Gwalior, I take this opportunity of testifying the appreciation by the Government of India of the services which you have rendered to His Highness and the paramount power. You will receive a confiscated estate in or near to the Benares Division, free of revenue in perpetuity, and yielding a rental of Rs. 5,000 a year. I believe that seldom has a ruler been served in troubled times by a more faithful, fearless, or able minister than yourself."—*Gazette of 2nd December 1853.*

fore are not to be expected from him. But we were not prepared for the violent abuse both of the Indian Government and some of its most distinguished servants, the gross personalities, and the ludicrous egotism, which disgrace Mr. Dickinson's ninety-six pages. Even the gallant army that in 1857 fought so nobly, so enduringly, the battles of the helpless, are not spared, but are described as 'an army from India, used to flesh their swords on semi-civilized races, till they acquired an utter indifference to human life, like those Algerine soldiers of France who were so ready to sweep the streets of Paris with their fusillades.' Lord Canning is described as 'committed to a despotic course from which his pride forbade him to retract.' The appointment of Sir John Lawrence to be Governor-General is regarded 'with anxiety and alarm.' But probably our readers will prefer that, instead of reproducing the absurdities of Mr. Dickinson, we should give an unadorned sketch of the history of Dhar. The ancestors of the Puâr family were, like most of the other Mahratta leaders who rose to eminence, Patels or village magistrates in the Dekhan. Two brothers, Sambajee and Kalojee, took service under the founder of the Mahratta empire, and rose to high military command. From the former are descended the Puârs of Dhar; from the latter, the Puârs of Dewas. The first of the family who secured for himself any territorial possessions was Anund Rao Puâr, the son of Sambajee. In arms he was as distinguished as Kanojee Sindia and Mulhar Rao Holkar, with whom he divided the Mahratta conquests in Malwa; while in rank he claimed and received precedence over them, being the soldier of the Sattara Rajah, while they were the servants of a servant, the Peshwa. He died in 1749 at Dhar, his capital, where, centuries before, his ancestors had ruled as Rajpoot chiefs before they were driven into the Dekhan. His son and successor, Jeswunt Rao Puâr, a man distinguished alike for high courage and kindliness of heart, fell as became him at Paniput, the Flodden Field of Mahratta history, bravely fighting against the Abdali invader. In those days the strong and sturdy arm alone could preserve a place in the struggle for life. It is not surprising therefore that, from the death of Jeswunt Rao and the succession of his little boy Khunder Rao, an infant of two years, the state of Dhar declined in importance. No Native state in the length and breadth of India has suffered so seriously from long minorities as Dhar. But for this Dhar might have played as important a role in the History of British India as Sindia, Holkar, or the Bhonsla. But while these were powerful enough to maintain strong battle against the rising English power, the Rajah of Dhar had to strug-



gle for bare life against his own countrymen, who came upon him with their plundering armies to divide his state among them.

Khunder Rao married the daughter of Govind Rao Guikwar, and died while yet in budding manhood. Six months after his death, a son, Anund Rao Puâr, was born. He was educated at Baroda under his mother's care, while Rung Rao Ourekur, nominally his Minister, governed Dhar more in his own interest than that of his master. In fact, Anund Rao Puâr was an exile, living at his grandfather's court. The raw lad of seventeen, taking offence at some trivial slight, fled from the protection of his grandfather's roof and, travelling to Dhar, presented himself before Rung Rao Ourekur and boldly demanded his kingdom. This did not suit the Minister's people. High words ensued; and the young Rajah had to flee from Dhar. He found refuge with the Rajpoot chieftain of Bukhtgurb, with whose help he drove out the usurping Minister. But evil days were in store for the Rajah. The ex-Minister excited the hostility of the other Mahratta chiefs against him, and brought upon Dhar in succession the armies of Holkar and Sindia. While nobly struggling against fearful odds, he suddenly died in 1807, poisoned by his own sister.

The Mahrattas have been singularly fertile in remarkable women, some as notorious for their profligacy and crimes, as others have been conspicuous by their virtues. After the murder of Sambajee and the captivity of his son, the life of the Mahratta cause was Tara Bai rather than her husband Rajah Ram. She long disputed with the Satara Rajahs the supremacy of the Mahratta confederacy; and she left to her family the Raj of Kolhapore in separate possession. None who are conversant with Mahratta history can forget Aliah Bai, widow of Khundee Rao Holkar, surnamed 'the pious', whose name, to this day, is never mentioned by a Mahratta of the Holkar family without a blessing. Till yesterday there dwelt among us a living tradition of past times in the person of Banja Bai.\* It was the fortune of the Dhar State to be saved in its utmost need by the energy and talents of a woman, Meena Bai, widow of the murdered Anund Rao. Sindia had already seized Angur, Soucil, and Budnawur, the finest provinces of the State; Holkar possessed himself of Taul and Mundawul; Bairsea had fallen to Kureem Khan the Pindaree; the Peshwa had seized the hereditary possessions of the family in the Dekhan; and now what little remained was to be threatened by an illegitimate claimant in

\* This remarkable woman, the widow of Dowlut Rao Sindia, died in 1862. For a quarter of a century she ruled the Council of her husband, and for eight years governed Gwalior in her own name.

the person of Moraree Rao.\* But Meena Bai was more than his match. She had given birth to a boy, Ram Chunder Rao Puâr, after her husband's murder. When besieged by Moraree Rao in her house, to which he inhumanly set fire, she exchanged her child for the son of a peasant's wife, and, having got him safely conveyed to the Fort of Dhar, where he was received by the friendly castellan, she sent defiance to Moraree Rao : ' I will remain,' she said, ' where my honour requires I should remain ; and if the purpose of my enemy be accomplished, it will be a Suttée worthy of my late husband.' Her boy died when he was two years old. But Meena Bai, nothing daunted, adopted her sister's son under the same name, educated him very carefully, and aided by a clear-headed shrewd Minister, Bapoo Rugonath by name, kept his little territory for him all through ' the time of trouble', till the British Government arrived on the field and saved the State from annihilation.

In 1817 when the British troops entered Malwa, the town of Dhar and a little land round it was all that was left to Meena Bai and her adopted son, then twelve years of age. Her revenues were only about £2,000. A debt of £53,622 had been incurred in defending her country, and arrears of pay amounting to £15,000 were due to her little army. The State was bankrupt, and the Bai and her adherents were actually indebted to the bankers of the town for their daily food. The principle on which the British Government established peace in Malwa was to confirm possession, as it existed at the time of the British occupation, on condition of the chiefs entering into the policy of the British Government for the suppression of the predatory system. But an exception was made in favour of Dhar. Sindia was compelled to restore the district of Budnawur. Bairsea was conquered from the Pindarees and conferred in free gift on the young Rajah. Mozuffer, a Mekranee usurper, was made to restore the district of Kooksee. Other districts were added, and a little principality was created which in the course of three years yielded an annual revenue of nearly £30,000. A sum of £25,000 was lent to the State on the security of the revenues of Bairsea to pay off the debts, which were compounded for at one-fourth of their amount, and to pay up the arrears to the troops. Thus was the State saved by the British Government. Sir John Malcolm writing at the time says, ' The strong and most prevailing sentiment among all ranks is gratitude to the British

\* He was the son of Mohiput Rao, who was the issue of Jeswunt Rao Puâr by a slave-girl. In 1832 his son Ohit Rao raised the standard of rebellion and again asserted his right to the succession. But the rebellion was put down by a British force.



' Government for having so generously restored the fortune of  
' a fallen family.'

The youthful Rajah of Dhar was married in 1822 to Unpoora Bai, grand-daughter of Dowlut Rao Sindia. He died in October 1833, leaving a daughter, but no son. With the permission of the British Government Unpoora Bai adopted a son, Jeswunt Rao Puâr, who was installed as Rajah of Dhar in April 1834. He was then about eleven years of age. His rule was such as to secure the esteem and respect of the chiefs and people of western Malwa; but his life was uneventful, and we may pass on to his death on 23rd May 1857, and see what return was made in the time of trial for the salvation of the State in 1817.

It was just after the news of the tragedies of Meerut and Delhi reached Central India, that the Rajah was cut off by cholera. He had adopted his younger brother, Anund Rao Puâr or Bala Sahib, a lad of thirteen years. Official sanction to the recognition of the adoption and succession of Anund Rao was immediately obtained from Government by telegraph and was communicated to the Durbar by Colonel Durand, the Officiating Agent to the Governor-General. Owing to the insecurity of the roads, written permission to recognize Anund Rao did not arrive till 28th September; but in the meantime he was acknowledged to be and treated as the Rajah of Dhar. Hybut Rao Puâr, one of the chiefs of Dewas and a firm friend of the British Government, had gone to Dhar to pay a visit of condolence to the family. By his advice, the young Rajah selected as his Dewan or Minister, Ramchunder Bapojee,\* who assumed office on 22nd July. This man was the son of Bapoo Rugonath who had rendered such signal service to the Dhar State in 1817; and when his father died in July 1836, grey with years and laden with honours, he had succeeded to the office of Minister, which he held for ten years till a quarrel with the Raja led to his dismissal. He had a thorough knowledge of English, had associated much with British officers, was shrewd and intelligent, and supposed to be in favour of the interests of the British Government, to whom indeed his family were deeply indebted. None of the old servants of the State were displaced; and this Minister was the only new coadjutor.

Contrary to the well-known and repeated instructions of the British Government, whose policy it had always been since the settlement of Malwa to prevent the employment of Arabs and Mekranees in Native States, this man commenced his career by

\* The statement of Mr. Dickinson, that the Dewan was afterwards removed from Office by Colonel Durand's orders, is entirely without foundation.

enlisting large numbers of foreign mercenary troops. As soon as the news of the rising at Indore reached Dhar, a party of these mercenaries, four hundred in number according to information given by the friendly chief of Dewas, joining with the mercenaries of the Rajah of Amjhera, plundered the stations of Bhopawur and Sirdarpore, and burned the hospitals over the heads of the sick and wounded. Returning to Dhar with their plunder, they were met and honourably received by Bheim Rao Bhonsla, the young Rajah's uncle; and three of the guns which they had captured were placed in the Rajah's palace. On 31st August they were in possession of the Fort of Dhar, whether with or without the consent of the Durbar has never been satisfactorily explained; but on 15th October Captain Hutchinson, the Political Agent, reported that there was strong reason to believe that this Rajah's mother and uncle and members of the Durbar were the instigators of the rebellion of the Dhar troops, that the conduct of the Durbar was suspicious, that the Agent of the Durbar in attendance on him gave him no reliable information, and had purposely deceived him on the nature of the Durbar's negotiations with the mutinous mercenaries and the numbers they had enlisted, and that the Durbar received with attention and civility emissaries from Mundesore which was the centre of the Mussulman rising. On receipt of this intelligence Colonel Durand summarily dismissed the Dhar Agent who was in attendance on him, with a message to the Durbar that they would be held strictly responsible for all that had happened or might happen, a warning which was afterwards repeated to the Rajah in person during the siege of the Fort.

On 22nd October, after an engagement with the Dhar troops in which they were beaten and their guns captured, the Fort was invested. The Fort is entirely detached from the town; its southern angle rests on the suburbs, the road running between. It is situated on an eminence of thirty feet above the surrounding plain, and is built of red granite, in an oblong shape, conforming itself to the hill on which it stands. The walls are about thirty feet in height, with fourteen circular and two square towers. Within 250 yards of the southern angle, between the Fort and the City, there is a high bank of earth, forming a natural parallel on which the guns of the besieging force were planted. During the progress of the siege, letters were intercepted from the garrison of Dhar to the head of the rebel force at Mundesore, applying urgently for the advance of a force to their relief; and on one occasion, after having shown a white flag and asked to parley, they refused to treat except through the Durbar under whose orders and for whom they



professed to be defending the Fort. By sunset on 31st October the breach was declared practicable, and the assault was to have taken place next morning. But under the cover of night the garrison, with the exception of a few sepoy who surrendered as prisoners of war, evacuated the Fort, and escaped the retribution which was the due of their cruel burning of the sick and wounded at Bhopawur. In the dungeon of the Fort was found, heavily ironed, a poor wretch who had been imprisoned on the charge of having bewitched the late Rajah.

After the capture Colonel Durand ordered the Fort to be demolished, the State to be attached pending the final orders of Government, and charges to be prepared against the leaders and instigators of the rebellion. Consideration was to be shown to the Rajah on account of his youth, and to the Ranee on account of her sex. But the Dewan Ramchunder Bapojee, the Rajah's uncle Bheem Rao Bhonsla, and others, were carried prisoners to Mhow, and were to be tried for their lives. Shortly afterwards Sir Robert Hamilton returned from England to India and resumed charge of his office of Agent to the Governor-General. To his culpable negligence and that of his son-in-law, Captain Hutchinson, is attributable the escape of these men from the punishment they had merited. They were never brought to trial; beyond a summary and unofficial enquiry, nothing was done. On 2nd January 1858, Sir R. Hamilton took the depositions of the prisoners themselves; he recorded no evidence; he passed no orders regarding them further than releasing them on security; and on 29th November 1858, without the knowledge of the Supreme Government, and in spite of the orders issued for their trial, of which Government had approved, they were permitted quietly to return to Dhar. It was not till the month of May 1861, three and a half years after the orders for their trial, and when Sir R. Hamilton had been relieved by the late Sir R. Shakespear, who was transferred from Baroda and was not in any way mixed up with the party questions which complicated the case of Dhar, that the neglect of the orders of Government was brought to light. Government of course could not then press any charges against them; if it had desired to do so, there was little chance of evidence being procured; the record of the summary enquiry made in 1858 had been lost. Such enquiries, however, as were made in 1861, showed that the Dewan Ram Chunder Bapojee had been the main instrument in enlisting the foreign mercenaries; that he used his knowledge of English to translate and explain to the mob the passages in the English prints damaging to the British interests; and that, when the young Rajah appeared in

public, he was always accompanied by the Dewan, and preceded by a religious fanatic who chanted the following couplet: —

'Great the might of Anund Rao's race.

Black and accurs'd be every English face.\*

The action taken by the Home Government in the Dhar case is too well known to require detailed notice. The Despatch of the Court of Directors dated 22nd June 1858, which directed the restoration of the State of Dhar to the young chief, was based on imperfect information. When the facts of the case were more fully reported in Lord Canning's letter of 6th December 1859, after personal enquiry during his great progress through the Upper Provinces of India, which clearly established the complicity of the Dhar Durbar in the rebellion,† the Home Government entirely concurred in the justice of the confiscation of the State, but from 'merciful consideration' to the youth and apparent innocence of the young Rajah himself, they decided to forego the extreme penalty.‡

'After a full consideration therefore of all the circumstances, Her Majesty's Government have resolved to extend mercy to the young Rajah, and to direct his restoration to the title and position he inherited as head of the principality of Dhar; reserving however the administration of the territory of the State in the hands of British Officers, until he shall reach the age of eighteen years, if he shall then be reported qualified to undertake it. Her Majesty's Government however, while it has decided to forego the extreme penalty of the confiscation of the State, consider that it is not right nor expedient that the principality of Dhar should wholly escape all penalties for the misconduct of those who directed its counsels and forces during the late events.

'For some years past the Government of India has, for the sake of the tranquillity of the country, administered Baireeah, an outlying Pergunnah of Dhar, and has paid annually to the ruler of Dhar a lakh of rupees, a sum considerably exceeding the revenues of the Pergunnah. Her Majesty's Government direct that the payment of this sum shall cease, that the rights of the Rajah of Dhar to this Pergunnah shall be considered as for-

\* Anund Rao kâ bol bâla; Feringhee kâ munh kâla.

† The fact is, that the complicity of the Durbar in the rebellion was never questioned by any one in India, not even by Sir R. Hamilton, the Champion of Dhar, till 5th July 1858. It fell to Sir R. Hamilton to carry out the first orders for confiscation, and in doing so he did not hesitate to describe the Durbar as 'ungrateful and unfaithful,' and to declare that 'the treaty with the Dhar State has been completely abrogated by the act of that Durbar.'

It may perhaps not be superfluous here to add that, in confiscating Dhar, the British Government had no thought of territorial aggrandisement. The intention of Government was to confer the territory on Sindia. The offence of Dhar was precisely the same as that of Amjhera. The troops of both States conjointly plundered Bhopawur and Sirdarpore. The Rajah of Amjhera was hanged, and his territory was incorporated with Sindia's dominions. No one has ever questioned the justice of his fate.

‡ Parliamentary Papers of 15th Feb. 1861, page 46.



'feited, and that it shall be at the disposal of the Governor-General for such purposes as he may be pleased to direct.'

The Pergunnah of Bairseeah was conferred on the Begum of Bhopal as a reward for her faithful services. This district was isolated from the rest of the Dhar possessions, and the Durbar were never able to manage and control it. When therefore it was restored to Dhar in 1817, the Durbar desired that the administration of it should be retained by the British Government, in the first place as security for the loan which the British Government had made, and thereafter in the interest of the Dhar State, with permission however to rent it to the Nawab of Bhopal or to any other chief. The British Government accordingly retained possession of Bairseeah, paying for it, by agreement, £10,000 a year to Dhar. This sum was far in excess of the gross revenues of the district; and the arrangement was so advantageous to Dhar, that when, in 1829, the British Government wished to get rid of the bargain, the Rajah of Dhar would on no pretext listen to overtures on the subject, and the annual payment continued to be made till the outbreak of the mutinies. In the year 1856, the gross revenues of Bairseeah were £8,445, and the nett revenues, after deducting the expenses of administration, were £5,894. This was the highest they had ever reached, so that for nearly forty years the British Government had been paying to the Rajah of Dhar more than £4,000 a year in excess of what was realized from the district.

The territories restored to the Native Government consist of seven districts which, with certain tributes, yield a gross annual revenue of about £44,000. We say 'restored to the Native Government,' for although it is the object of Mr. Dickinson's book to show that the British Government wish to 'retain their grasp of Dhar by a combination of active and passive resistance, of evasion, deception, and procrastination,' the system of administration is in all respects a native one, except only that it is controlled by a British Officer, and not by the Rajah in person. The old hereditary servants of the State have all been retained; the law and procedure are unchanged; the Dewan or Minister is Ragoo Narain, an old servant of the late Rajah, and a man of considerable intelligence, with a fair knowledge of English; every thing is done in the Rajah's name, and the Rajah himself is associated in the administration as far as his strength and ability will permit. For the exercise of the uncontrolled powers of Government, he has never shown himself qualified. He came of age in April 1862; but he has made no progress in mental ability or acquirements during the four years he

has been under careful tuition. In person he is deformed.\* His constitution is weak. He is always ailing. In a certain kind of intelligence he is not deficient, for he can learn rapidly; but he has no memory or mental energy. Unable to fix his attention on any subject requiring serious thought, he is incapable of retaining what he learns, and therefore he makes no progress. He has a smattering of English; but can scarcely read and write his own language with fluency. In manner he is affable and agreeable. With the docility of a child, he will always do what he is told. Having no strength of character, he never can govern for himself, but will always do just as he is advised. In Dhar there are no native officials of intelligence to constitute a responsible council. The effect of making over to him the full powers of administration would be, to withdraw the salutary control of an upright British officer, and leave the young Rajah inevitably to fall a prey to wicked and irresponsible advisers. The present state of things is better for himself and his subjects. But if the British Agency is ever to be withdrawn during the Raja's lifetime, it might as well be withdrawn now; for he is never likely to make further progress than he has done, and, take him all in all, he is not worse than many other native chiefs who are allowed to govern.

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\* 'He is very short of stature, and his personal appearance is painfully 'unfortunate'; the head and features are those of a grown-up man, but 'the figure is that of a child of twelve years of age.' *Parliamentary Papers of 15th February 1861*, p. 72.



ART. VII.—*The Indian Conspiracy of 1864.*

MANY a solemn voice has gone over the waters to England from her colonies, but few in tones so deep or of such awful import as those which during the past seven years have reached her from this city. There was a time when the ear of England was painfully sensitive to these sounds from across the ocean, but during the ten years preceding 1857, England, by determining to yield whatever her dependencies might ask, became more and more indifferent to the nature of their demands. From this indifference India was destined to awake her. In 1857 we had a tale to tell such as it had never before been the fate of a mother country to hear. No sooner had that memorable year passed than the alarm was given that the cost of governing India was necessarily and permanently greater than the revenues she could yield. And hardly had the last rumour of national bankruptcy died away, before we had again to startle England by details of a widespread famine.

That in the present year, instead of a tale of mutiny and slaughter, we have only to record a grave State Trial, is due in no small measure to the lessons of 1857. We owe much to those officials who have detected and brought to justice the conspirators, but the fact that the conspiracy, although widely spread over Northern India for three years, has nowhere given rise to a single breach of the peace, reflects the highest credit on the vigilance of our Indian Government in general—we have given up the illusion that our rule is welcome to our Indian subjects, and accepted the stern position that, as by the sword we won India, so by the sword we must keep it. All we can at present hope for, is by just policy and general education to sow the seeds of future loyalty, and in the meantime sharply to check disaffection at the point where it takes the form of overt treason.

Early in July Sir Herbert Edwardes, as Sessions Judge at Umballah, delivered judgment in a state trial which had occupied the Court during nearly twenty sittings. Eleven Mussulman subjects of the British Crown had been charged at the bar with high treason. In that doomed band were representatives of every rank of Moslem society. Priests of the highest family, a butcher, a scrivener, a soldier, an itinerant preacher, a house steward, and a husbandman. They had been defended by Eng-

lish Counsel : they had had the full advantage both of technical pleas in bar and of able pleading on the merits of the case : six of their countrymen had sat as Assessors with the Judge on the bench : and the trial resulted in the condemnation of eight of the prisoners arraigned to transportation for life, and of the remaining three to the last penalty of the law.

The summing up of the Judge, with certain state documents which have now been made public, unfolds the beginning, progress, and downfall of the plot in language not unworthy even of the reputation of Indian officials. The opening remarks of the Judge in particular convey a sketch of several of the conspirators, which in a moment familiarises us with the chief actors in the tragedy ; and we rise from the perusal of the long laboured, but ever interesting document, with a sense of escape from great danger, and with a high respect for the man who has reduced so much heterogeneous evidence into one perspicuous and convincing chain of proof.

In the extreme north of India, upon the boundaries of the last tribe that owes allegiance to the British Crown, rises the sacred peak of the Hindus. The Mahabau, or great forest, which clothed its slopes seems to have impressed the early Aryan emigrants more deeply than any other physical feature they met with on their primeval southern journey. The mountain soon became to their race what Sinai was to the Jews. It was amid its heights that Arjuna fought single-handed with the Great God,\* and although, defeated like Jacob of old, obtained the irresistible weapon from the Deity ; and happy was the primitive pilgrim who could lay his bones amidst those shades, where tradition affirmed that the lesser divinities themselves were wont by fasting and solitude to cleanse such delicts as their celestial natures were capable of.

Six years ago the ancient mountain afforded shelter to a horde of Mussulman robbers, who for thirty years had infested the British Frontier, and who had eventually in 1858 to be driven back by a large British Force. The refugees professed the doctrines of the Wahabis, a reforming sect which pushes the doctrines of Islam to their logical ultimate conclusions. Once a great political power, now a despised and scattered band, they wander over the Mussulman world, denouncing the superstitions which have crept into Mahomed's religion, and preaching a Holy War against all rejectors of the True Faith.

Their new stronghold at Mulkah, on the northern side of the Mahaban mountain, soon became the most important colony of the

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\* Mahadeva,



sect, and a very dangerous neighbour to our frontier tribes.\* Absconding debtors, escaped convicts, spendthrifts too ruined to be at peace with social order, mutineers too guilty to hope for pardon from the law, religionists too zealous to live in allegiance to a Christian Government, all flocked from the British Plains to this cave of Adullam in the North. In 1861 they came down the mountain to Siri, a fastness overhanging their old haunt at Sitana, and from thence made raids at pleasure upon our frontier tribes. These plundering expeditions, sometimes attended with murder, became daily more serious, till at last in the beginning of July 1863, the horde descended in a body upon Sitana, attacked the camp of the Guide Corps at Topee, and during the next few months fired repeatedly upon our outposts and killed several of our men.

The campaign which ensued is now a matter of history. Before the close of 1863, Mulkah was levelled with the ground, our army had been withdrawn from the country, and our frontier restored to the Civil Power.

It may seem that the existence of a plundering tribe on the frontier is a light matter to a great empire. But it must be remembered that in India it takes longer for a boy to attain his precocious manhood, than for a robber horde to grow into a belligerent nation. Indeed in a shorter time than it requires to build a country house in England, the Mahrattas and Pindaris had developed themselves out of a clan of cattle-lifters into the two greatest Martial Powers that ever imperilled our rule in the East. And last winter it was only after a protracted and costly campaign, in which we lost nearly one thousand men killed and wounded, that we could reduce the Wahabi colony which six years ago we had driven before us like chaff.

Ever since 1852 strange isolated circumstances have at recurring intervals come within the cognisance of Government, all tending to show that supplies of men and money were being systematically forwarded by conspirators within our empire to the asylum of traitors on the Mahaban. Within the vast Northern Presidency there are races of all shades of colour and of many varieties of dialect; and it would be easier for an Italian to pass as an Englishman in London, than for a Bengali to play the Punjaubi at Peshawar. It was noticed during the campaign in 1858 that many of the enemy slain in battle had the unmistakeable dark sallow complexion which is imparted by the steamy swamps of Lower Bengal. The clue, however, could not be followed up at that time, and at the end of the campaign the Irregular Horse was reduced, and several of the deserving men enrolled in the Mounted Police.

Among these was one Gauzan Khan, who soon rose to the rank of Sergeant in the Kurnaul District near Umballah. On a certain day in May 1863, while on his rounds, he descried four foreigners proceeding along the great North Road. Their diminutive stature, dingy complexion, and puny beards reminded the old soldier of the Bengali traitors he had seen among the dead on the battle field in 1858. He got into conversation with them, worked himself into their secrets, and at length elicited that they were Bengali emissaries from Mulkah, on their way back to their native province to arrange for the forwarding of fresh supplies of money and men.

The tall Northerner at once arrested the four traitors. They appealed to him as a brother Mussulman, and offered him any bribe he would name, to be paid at once by a certain scrivener, Jaffir Khan, in the neighbouring market town of Thanesur. But the old soldier was faithful to his salt, and forthwith sent them before the Magistrate.

Now there can be little doubt if that officer had at once committed these four Bengalis, the whole conspiracy would have been detected, the Wahabis would not have descended upon Sitana, and the British Empire would have been spared a bloody campaign. But at that time the empire was in profound peace: Thanesur is a quiet little inland district: High Treason is the rarest of crimes, false charges by the Indian Police for the purpose of extorting money are the commonest occurrences. The Magistrate in refusing to commit the four peaceable wayfarers only acted in the way, which in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases would have been consonant with substantial justice.

This however happened to be the exceptional hundredth case.

The Sergeant of Mounted Police chose to be very much affronted at the release of his prisoners. The feeling that his report had been doubted, preyed upon his high Panjaubi spirit, and he still felt perfectly certain that a great unseen danger was about to break upon our empire.

He devised an enterprise to which neither the legends of Spartan fortitude, nor the annals of Roman fidelity present a parallel. To leave his duties without permission would have been desertion, but he had a son in his native village, far in the North, whom he loved better than any thing upon earth except the family honour. Between his village and the frontier lay our outposts, all on the alert to stop any stray plunderer or absconding traitor. Beyond the frontier were the Wahabis, on the eve of their first great act of overt hostility to the Crown, and in the last degree suspicious of any stranger not forwarded



in the regular manner by their agents within our empire. The father well knowing that his son, if he escaped being hung at our outposts as a traitor, ran a very imminent risk of being strangled by the Wahabis as a spy, commanded his boy in the name of the family honour to go to Mulkah, and not to return or still write till he could bring back the names of the conspirators within our territory, who were aiding the Wahabis outside.

The son received the letter and next day disappeared from the village. What were his sufferings and hair-breadth escapes none but his own family knows, but it came out in evidence that he completely deceived the Wahabis, joined in their descent upon Sitana, repassed our outposts unscathed, and turning neither to the left nor to the right, presented himself one evening at his father's hut, many hundred miles in the interior, worn out by travel, want, and disease, but changed with the secret 'that Moonshi Jaffir of Thanesur whom men call 'Kaleefa, was the great man who passed up the Bengalis, 'and their carbines and rifles.' Now Jaffir was the scrivener in the neighbouring market town of Thanesur, who would have at once paid the bribe, if the Sergeant had let the four travellers go.

We can recall no more touching picture of *prisca fides* than that stern Punjaubi father, riding proudly and silently on his daily rounds, brooding over his distrusted word, and as the months passed growing sick and more sick regarding the fate of the son, whose life he had imperilled to redeem his honour and to save the Foreign Masters who had doubted it. Before such a revenge our cautious English civilization must stand penitent and uncovered. It is a return to lower earth to speak of rewarding this act, but yet it is some comfort to remember that, if our Indian Government has at times committed grave mistakes, it has not forgotten amply to redress them.

The private history of Jaffir, scrivener in the market town of Thanesur, is full of interest. Born in a very humble rank, he raised himself by force of character to be Lumberdar, or Headman of his native town. One day he was struck by the discourse of an itinerant preacher belonging to the extreme reforming sick of the Wahabis. The religious feelings of the prosperous townsman were awakened, he pondered upon the corrupted ceremonial of the mosques, and after passing through a deep spiritual darkness, not unlike that which John Bunyan experienced, he openly professed himself a Wahabi and threw his whole earnest nature into the work of religious reform.

The new convert devoted much time to self-examination and rigidly kept account with his soul. He began to write his religi-

ous experiences, and these, under the title of the Counsels of Jaffir, form one of the most interesting documents even filed on a state trial.

'Associating myself,' he says, 'with the Petition-writers in 1856, it came to pass that all the Pleaders and Petition-writers consulted me as to the Rules, Regulations, and Acts of the Legislature, and I came to be above them all.' Petition-writers are a sort of unregistered pettifoggers who write out the plaints of suitors in the Magistrate's Court at a fee varying from sixpence to two shillings. Jaffir had a large practice, but the money thus gained in the Infidel's Court never seemed to do him any good, 'on the contrary by this profession I obtained great injury to my faith, had I not adopted it, my religious state would have been much better. My mode of livelihood has been detrimental to me in regard to the pleasures of worshipping and of high piety. When I had leisure from the Courts, even for a couple of days, my state became good. The mere contact with the Mussulman *employés* of the Unbeliever, which was the drawback attending my position, was not less fatal to me than poison.'

Jaffir's legal reputation spread notwithstanding his dislike of the profession, and he was retained as family adviser by some of the powerful landholders in the neighbourhood. He was a particularly sincere man, and never allowed his temporal success to interfere with his eternal interests. Every one who came near him owned his influence, and like Mahommed he began by converting his own household. One of these, his clerk, remained faithful to his master in his direst extremity, and stood by his side as a fellow witness to the faith in the dock of the Sessions Court at Umballah.

When the mutiny broke out, Jaffir chose twelve of his most trustworthy disciples and repaired to the rebel camp. Even in the unwonted work of fighting his force of character soon made him conspicuous, and he gained the reputation of being a man fit to be trusted with treasonable secrets. Upon the downfall of the rebel hopes at Delhi, Jaffir returned to the Court at Thanesur, brooding over the inscrutable decree of providence which had given victory to the Unbelievers, and more than ever discontented with what he calls 'this exceedingly dirty business of Petition-writing.' Open force had failed, and it remained to be seen what could be effected by secret conspiracy. About this time Jaffir became a member of a widespread confederacy. His secret duties threw a religious halo even over his detested profession, for, 'be it known,' he writes at this period, 'I do this by order of a Certain Person, and for a Hidden Object.'



This Certain Person was Moulvi Wilayat Yahiya Ali of Patna, Spiritual Director of the Wahabi sect in India; the Hidden Object was the forwarding of recruits and munitions of war to the Wahabi colony on the Mahaban, then in open hostilities against the British Crown.

In the Mussulman quarter of the ancient city of Patna there is an alley called Sadkipur Lane, much frequented by travellers. On the left hand side of the alley is a group of buildings in the Moorish style, with considerable frontage, and running back some distance from the lane. Their exteriors have that mournful dilapidated look which the brick and stucco buildings of India permanently assume after the first wet season, and which presents such a squalid contrast to our preconceptions of the gorgeous East.

The prominent edifice of the group is a mosque of very plain interior, in which public prayer is offered up each hour of the day, and a Khutba, or lecture, is delivered every Friday. These Friday Lectures in the Sadkipur mosque are different from those in the other mosques in the city. They are vehement harangues exposing the inefficacy of works without faith, warning the hearers of their great spiritual danger, and urging them to cultivate the Inward Life. They contrast the simple worship of the Prophet with the cumbrous ritual, the endless mummeries, bowings, and genuflexions of the mosques, and bitterly inveigh against those who by traditions (Sunnat) have rendered the written word of no effect.

Generally speaking, they inculcate a spiritual standard much higher than ordinary natures are capable of attaining, and the hearers, although deeply impressed at the moment, carry away only a permanent recollection of having been rendered exceedingly uncomfortable. The Moulvies of the other city mosques, while forced to acknowledge the learning and eloquence of the Sadkipur Lane preachers, denounce them as rejectors of holy sacraments, and unitarian schismatics.

Still many Mussulmans of all ranks are daily added to the converts of the reformers. The priests are men of high birth and belong to one family. The head of the house is Chief Priest in virtue of letters patent from the late Wahabi Prophet himself; one of the family holds an honorary post under the British Government, and another leads the Wahabi troops in their incursions upon our Northern frontier. Considerable revenues pour into their coffers from the Wahabi congregations throughout Bengal. Around the mosque are the dwelling houses of the priests and their zenanas, with a small college for students of the reformed theology, a hospice for pious travellers,

and several little white shrines in which repose the bones of Wahabi saints.

This group of buildings was always referred to in the papers filed on the trial as the Lesser Godown, the appellation of Greater Godown being reserved for the belligerent colony on the Mahaban.

The priests perfectly understand how to use the zeal of their converts. Youths of high promise are received into the college and elaborately trained in the theology and dialectics of Islam. Men of humbler capacity are instructed more hastily in the striking doctrines of the reformed faith, and sent forth as missionaries and colporteurs into the rural districts. Everything proceeded with admirable order. Bengal was divided into convenient circles, in each of which an itinerant preacher laboured, teaching the new doctrines, selling Wahabi tracts, and forwarding such contributions as he could raise to the Lesser Godown in Sadkipur Lane.

Converts of a still lower order were also welcome. Such men were wont daily to arrive from the southern provinces, where they had been converted by the itinerant preachers, and induced to leave their native villages by the assurance that a Prophet would appear in the North and speedily restore the Moslem Rule in India. These persons were kindly received at the gate of the hospice, and without being troubled with matters of doctrine, were at once handed over to a lay brother. Abdool Ghuffar, bursar of the hospice, was a most useful man. Chancer's 'gentil maniple' was not more expert in buying of 'Vitaille' than he. He managed the whole temporal affairs of the Wahabi world in Sadkipur, daily lectured the recruits from the provinces on the high duties of waging Holy War against the Unbeliever, and even delivered occasional prelections on divinity to the theological students, when the Chief Priest, under whose care they properly fell, was otherwise engaged.

The Chief Priest, Yahiya Ali, had many duties. He corresponded with all the itinerant preachers, as Spiritual Director of the sect in India. He organised and personally worked a complicated system of drafts, by which large sums were safely transmitted from the centre of the empire to our enemies on the frontier. He conducted the public ministrations in the mosque. He examined and passed the rifles for the Wahabi troops, delivered a course of Divinity Lectures to his students, and by private study acquired a very intimate acquaintance with the Arabic fathers.

Seldom have more impressive words been uttered in a Court of Justice than those in which Sir Herbert Edwardes pronounced sentence of death upon this memorable man.



‘It is proved,’ he said, ‘against the prisoner Yahiya Ali that he has been the main-spring of the great treason which this trial has laid bare.

‘He has been the religious preacher, spreading from his mosque at Patna, under the most solemn sanctions, the hateful principles of the Crescentade. He has enlisted subordinate Agents to collect money and preach the Moslem Jihad (war against the Infidel). He has deluded hundreds and thousands of his countrymen into treason and rebellion. He has plunged the Government of British India, by his intrigues, into a frontier war which has cost hundreds of lives. He is a highly educated man who can plead no excuse of ignorance. What he has done, he has done with forethought, resolution, and the bitterest treason. He belongs to a hereditarily disloyal, and fanatical family. He aspires to the merit of a religious reformer; but instead of appealing to reason and to conscience like his Hindoo fellow countrymen in Bengal, of the Brahma Somaj, he seeks his end in political revolution, and madly plots against the Government which probably saved the Mahommedans of India from extinction, and certainly brought in religious freedom.’

The itinerant preachers were too important a class to be without a representative in the dock at Umballah.

To the civilised man cribbed within cities, and only permitted to move about this world impeded with luggage, and in the constant society of fellow travellers, there is something peculiarly attractive in a life of unencumbered and solitary wandering. We all feel that the soul gathers sanctity in solitude, and surely the pilgrim on his lonely foot journey through forest and over mountain must think purer and fresher thoughts than the work-a-day indoor world. We love to think that our ancestors lived more in the open in merry England than their descendants do now, and childhood leaves no more refreshing recollections to the busy practical man, than reminiscences of that exquisite outdoor scenery through which, in the great Christian Allegory, Pilgrim passes from the City of Destruction to the celestial City.

This Forest of Arden spirit reached its highest development in ancient India, where the friendliness of nature had rendered unnecessary those contrivances which, in colder climates, elevate man’s shelter into his home. The primitive Sanskrit scheme of life required that each man of the chosen race, after begetting children into the world, should leave his kindred and dwell apart in the forest. Every popular tale introduces us to some venerable eremite beside a running stream, and the most charming scenes of Sakuntala are those which discover the forest maiden surrounded by tame fawns in her own native glade.

The Wahabi missionary's lonely wandering life renders him an object of interest in the villages upon his route. Throughout many months of the year he enters the door of no human dwelling; he comes from a distant province and during the long journey has admitted no companion, to interrupt his solemn self-communings. He comports himself moreover with a solemnity and serene demeanour that awaken that peculiar interest which mystics in all countries excite in the minds of ordinary men. It is not surprising, then, that the villagers should group around him, and forget for a moment, while listening to his earnest words, their disputes about water-courses, and their long standing party feuds. The preacher does not inculcate treason, but only those doctrines which necessarily lead their adopters into treason; doctrines which, to use Bacon's impressive aphorism, do dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society, and bring down the spirit of God, instead of in the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven. The Wahabi has, therefore, little to fear from the magistrates of the districts through which he passes, but fortunately every village does not yield a disciple, and he has often to shake off the dust of obdurate hamlets from his feet. When he makes converts he generally prevails on them to leave their kindred and follow him. These disciples he strengthens in the faith as they travel through the country, assuring them that there is a great army of saints in the North under an Inspired Leader, and quickening their zeal till they beg to be sent to join the ranks that are to extirpate the Unbeliever.

How many of these wandering mystics are at present preying upon the Commonwealth, we have no means of estimating, but we know that during the past four years they have enveloped the whole of Bengal in their meshes and converted many thousands of useful British subjects, first into vagrant fanatics, and then into bitter traitors to the Crown.

The most delicate operation of the conspirators was the transmission of recruits and money from the Little Godown in Sadkipur Lane to the Great Godown upon the Mahaban. Numbers of converts daily arrived at the hospice in Patna bearing remittances and letters of recommendation from the rural preachers, and the forwarding of these Bengali-speaking recruits through the wide provinces of the North-West and the Panjaub, provinces in which both their physical appearance and their language would unmistakeably stamp them as foreigners, presented the gravest difficulties.

It was in this dangerous work that Yahiya Ali's genius for administration *most fully* developed itself. He organised a



system of Wahabi hospices along the route, and placed each under the direction of some proven disciple. The great North Road was divided into suitable sections, and the Wahabi traitors on their way to our Enemy's camp, journeyed in safety through strange provinces, in the full assurance that at the end of each stage there were friends upon the look out for their arrival. The Wahabi agents in charge of the hospices were men of diverse ranks of life, all devoted to the overthrow of the British Rule, and each the head of a local committee of traitors. Yahiya Ali must have displayed a very deep knowledge of character in selecting these men, for neither fear of detection nor hope of reward has induced a single one of them to appear against their leader in the hour of his disgrace, and at this moment although it is known that a chain of asylums, like that at Thanesur, connected Patna with the Punjaub Frontier, yet no one can come forward and put his finger upon the particular spots.

Jaffir, Scrivener at Thanesur, was no ordinary traitor, but his talents for sedition were altogether of a narrower order than those of Mahommed Shuffie, wholesale butcher in Delhi and Meat Supplier to the British Forces in the Punjaub.

This man was the son of one of the great trading houses in Northern India. The origin of his family's connection with Government takes us back beyond the time of the Permanent Settlement almost to the days of Francis and Warren Hastings. Mahommed's great grandfather and grandfather were humble graziers, who partly by speculation and partly by rigid economy raised themselves considerably in the world.

It was a period better fitted for making fortunes than for keeping them. War prices ruled, and the armies constantly in motion compelled our Commissariat to seek the acquaintance of the cattle-contractors of Northern India. It is possible that the family fortunes of the traitor owe their rise to that great famine in 1769, which first awakened the people of England to their responsibilities in India. During the last decades of the country, we find the grandfather in a highly responsible portion of life, executing large contracts to the perfect satisfaction of the officers in charge of the Commissariat. Mahommed's father greatly enlarged the scope of these transactions. Besides the money required for advances to the smaller cattle-breeders, he had a large surplus capital which he lent out on the safest securities at the highest interest. His son succeeded to a large fortune, but true to the Indian instinct of following his father's craft, he devoted himself with energy to the family trades, and it is as a great banker and wholesale butcher that he has been enabled to

transact those nefarious operations which have led him into the condemned cell at Umballah.

As Yahiya Ali was the head, so this man was the right hand of the conspiracy.

He had agencies in all the large cities of Hindusthan and held the meat contracts for the seven chief British Cantonments along the Great North Road. He was connected by blood or by commercial ties with many of the richest trading houses of the Punjaub, he formed the centre of an ever-widening circle of dependents who were spread all over Upper India, and his business relations brought him into contact with the shepherd tribes far beyond our frontier. He yearly received many lacs from the British Government; in his dealings he was punctual and obedient even to servility, and he so hoodwinked the Commissariat Officers that he obtained a renewal of his meat contracts for the troops, even after he had been charged with treason to the Queen.

The widespread influence which he thus acquired as our servant he applied to our destruction. He was the Banker of the conspiracy, and skilfully used the conveniences for transferring money, which our Government has created for its subjects, to aid and succour our enemies.

There is nothing of the religious enthusiast about this man. He has permitted no foolish fanaticism to lead him into any indiscretion; he has been guilty of no saintly self-sacrifice; he appears throughout the keen, sharp-sighted, sordid schemer, deliberately entering into the most perilous transactions for a correspondingly high profit, and trusting to his clear intellect and high position to guide him safe through the dangers which beset his path.

Jaffir the Scrivener and Yahiya Ali the Priest made no pretensions to loyalty and sought nothing at our hands. They are earnest conscientious men who have pricked themselves with the poisoned weapons which a false religion put into their hands, and when, Laertes-like, they have paid the price of their treachery, history may dwell with emotions almost akin to pity on their fall. But for Mahommed Shuffee we can have no such feeling. He has licked our hand in order to bite it, he has taken usury from his fellow conspirators, and has reduced the most perilous species of treason to a safe operation in Banking. He has combined the heartlessness of Oppianicus with the caution of Lentulus, and his one fatal slip was in not deserting the pirates before the man of war hove in sight.

Immediately on the arrival of the son of Gauzan Khan, *Sergeant of Mounted Police*, at Thanedur, his secret was made



known to the Authorities. Jaffir was arrested, and his papers revealed the whole plot. The telegraph was set in motion, special messengers were despatched to Patna, and in an incredibly small number of hours the conspirators were arrested one after the other at the very moment they thought themselves most secure, and were least able to resist.

It is now three months since Sir Herbert Edwardes's elaborate summing-up was published. The public are sufficiently acquainted both with its merits as an eloquent chain of proof, and with its almost imperceptible blemishes as the work rather of an argumentative than of a strictly judicial mind. The highest authority in the Punjab has affirmed the justice of its conclusions, and it is not our wish to reopen the question. But we cannot refrain from observing that, as the conspirators have maintained a wonderful secrecy and a most alarming unity of counsels in this plot, so the Government has evinced admirable activity and sagacity in its detection. With the chief figures of the band that day after day stood in the Court at Umballah, we are now acquainted. Yahiya the Priest, Shuffee the Butcher, Jaffir the Scrivener, and Mean Jan the Itinerant Preacher we know: of the other six prisoners, one was Yahiya's brother-in-law, another was Jaffir's recruiting sergeant, the other four were men originally of diverse professions, but all zealous converts to the Wahabi faith, and trusty messengers between the leaders of the conspiracy. Yahiya Ali, Shuffee, and Jaffir were condemned to death by the Subordinate Court, and it remains to be seen on what grounds the severity of the sentence has been mitigated.

This State Trial at Umballah has again forced upon us the fact, that there is in this country a chronic and irreconcilable disaffection towards our rule. We wish for no Bedloes nor Dangerfields in India, but we trust that neither prosperity nor long continued impunity will tempt us to forget, that the National Religion of a great section of our subjects inculcates treason to our Queen. Spenser tells us of a sea-bird, called Tedula, which upon the banks of the Nile feeds in the crocodile's open jaws. Such and so perilous is the wealth that England yearly gathers by the rivers of India.

Perhaps in this moment of escape from a great common danger some words of mediation may not come unwelcome to the conflicting parties of our countrymen in India. During the past five years a tide of unexampled prosperity has set in towards these shores. Great interests have sprung up which were not anticipated and have only been partially provided for. The Englishman brings his capital and energy to this hot land in the expecta-

tion of receiving that protection from the laws which he obtains in the other British Colonies. He finds himself suddenly the victim of a system adapted to a wholly different order of civilization from that to which he belongs. The laws neither satisfy his requirements nor secure what he has always considered his rights, he had no voice in making them, and he has no constitutional means of demanding their reform. He comes from a community where the principle of Competition has reduced the diverse ranks of society into relations, sometimes cruel, but always precise and logically just. He arrives in a land where custom still extends her immemorial tenderness to the Rights of Persons at the expense of the Rights of Property. The old-world devices with which she tries to soften the application of the inevitable Principle of Competition seem to him only a maudlin and most pernicious sensibility. He finds himself an unwelcome stranger in a land which he had looked upon as his own, and he bitterly feels that, while it is he who does most for the country, it is he who is least cared for by the Government.

Government answers that, as in England so in India, we legislate not for a few wealthy denizens, but for the people of the land; that taxation without representation only increases our responsibility to rule according to the wishes of those from whom our revenues are drawn, and that, to a conscientious Government, the inarticulate pleading of these dumb and powerless millions should be more persuasive than the eloquence of any constitutional assembly, or the threats of an armed populace. What in England are sacred rights would be cruel innovations in India, and the same great principles which have moulded our Government in England so precisely to the wishes of Englishmen, compel us in this country to adapt our laws to the requirements of the Hindoos.

On the part of the settler there is a feeling of great wrong, on the part of Government there is a sense of weighty responsibility. We would implore each side to temper its acerbity by ever remembering the common dangers which envelope both and we would point to a gradual but sure remedy in that wise spirit of compromise which, adapting general principles to existing necessities, takes opportunity by the hand and scorns the falsehood of extremes.



ART. VIII.—*Reports on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces from 1852 to 1855, 1855-56, and 1862-63.*

MOST Englishmen in India have a general idea that the Government are making efforts to instruct the natives of India. A few, doubtless, missionaries and educationalists, are thoroughly familiar with all the phases through which these endeavours have passed. But with the great majority of ordinarily well-informed persons it will be found to be otherwise; the prevalent impression appears to be 'that a small proportion of middle-class natives, induced partly by the idea of gaining favour and chiefly by the hope of lucrative employment, allow their children to be taught some smattering of English and of European sciences; that the knowledge thus gained is very superficial, and in all probability does as much harm as good; that it renders them conceited and discontented, and but too frequently only eradicates wholesome though erroneous prejudices to fill the vacuum with selfishness and drunkenness, and the worst European vices.'

Perhaps this estimate is not entirely untrue, as a widespread general opinion usually has some foundation, but it totally fails to comprehend the vast and important intellectual revolution which is silently but rapidly spreading over Bengal, if not over the whole of India, or to notice the effects which may be expected to follow in its train.

Before adverting to its effects it will be well to show from statistics and other results that the rapidity of the progress of education in Bengal is really beyond all question. The desire for instruction in English dates back, it is true, even beyond the time when Macaulay threw in the weight of his pen and turned the scale against the encouragement of Persian and Sanscrit literature, but the remarkable advance of which we are writing need only be traced back to the celebrated despatch of the Court of Directors on the 19th July 1854.

Previous to that time there was a Council of Education, and many Colleges and Schools were supported by Government; 101 'Hardinge' vernacular schools had been scattered over the Lower Provinces, but the majority of them had soon to be abandoned, and by the last report of the Council bringing the narrative down to the 27th January 1855, we find the total number

of Government Schools and Colleges throughout the Lower Provinces to be eighty-one only, and the pupils attending them 9,474.\*

By the despatch referred to, the Educational Department was entirely reorganised, the Council was replaced by a Director of Public Instruction; four Inspectors and forty Sub-Inspectors of Schools were appointed, and a committee nominated for the purpose of preparing a scheme for the establishment of Universities at the Presidency towns. Lastly the grant-in-aid system was introduced and a set of rules drawn up under which Government was prepared to subsidise all 'schools in which a good secular education is given through the medium of English or the vernacular tongue.'

The first Director of Public Instruction (Mr. Gordon Young) lost no time in commencing operations; the training of teachers being essential to the success of any scheme for Mofussil education, Normal Schools for this purpose were established at Hooghly, Dacca, Calcutta, and Gowhatty. The most difficult portion of his task however lay in overcoming the indifference or rather aversion displayed on all sides to a vernacular education. To succeed or even to hope to succeed in educating any adequate proportion of the population in English, was obviously absurd, but while a knowledge of English was coveted chiefly as leading to lucrative employment, similar inducements to acquire the vernacular were entirely wanting.

This and the difficulties under which the Department laboured may be best shown by a few extracts from the different reports made in the year 1855.

In their last report the Council of Education write, 'A demand for English education has arisen in every district, and its strength may be tested by the fact that schooling-fees are willingly paid, and increasing numbers of Teachers are supported in private Schools. It must, however be confessed, that the hope of lucrative employment, rather than any real desire for education in itself, mainly induces parents to pay for their children's instruction. In vernacular Schools no such powerful motion exists, for the superiority of Government Schools over those conducted by Gurumohashoys is not generally acknowledged in the Mofussil. Gradually, but surely, the vernacular Schools established by Lord Hardinge have disappeared, until, at the beginning of the present year, there remained but twenty-six out of the original one hundred and

\* Report on Public Instruction in Lower Provinces from 1852-55, 50, 51.



‘one.’ Mr. R. B. Chapman, one of the newly appointed Inspectors of Schools, writing a few months later (July 1855,) says; ‘People have gradually forced themselves to acknowledge the English Schools as a necessity; not that they have, at present, any value for our learning, but they consider the acquisition of our language as necessary for the advancement of their children in this life, and therefore overcome their suspicions as to what may be the effect of this mode of education upon their prospects in the next. For the study of this hated knowledge in the vernacular, there is no such inducement; on the contrary, they consider the study of the vernacular as dishonourable, and in no case to be pursued further than is necessary for their daily business.’ And again, ‘In addition to such obstacles as are peculiar to no special period, I may here remind you that, in judging of the results of our first quarter’s operations, due weight should be given to the special accidents which have militated against us during that period; the principal of these was the design of depriving the jail prisoners of their *lotahs*. This is still universally believed to be the opening out of a general scheme, of which the Educational System is supposed to be a part, for the forcible conversion of the Natives to Christianity. ‘We understand’ is the significant answer frequently given to my subordinates, “*Udhar Magistrate Sahib khilate khilate, aur idhar tumlok parhate parhate!!*” The fact is, the presentiment is strong and by no means transitory, that Government will not only attempt to make its subjects Christians, but will succeed in doing so. The conviction is shared in alike by all classes and all sects, and I do not think it is in the power of Government to remove it. This uneasy feeling is ready to display itself on the most trivial occasions; and the circulation lately of a controversial appeal to the influential Mahomedans throughout the country by some person in Calcutta was, at once, attributed to Government, and has excited universal alarm among both Hindus and Mahomedans, adding materially to the difficulties which beset our plans. We must always have expected that the intention of Government would be at first misjudged and connected with proselytizing purposes. It is incomprehensible to the native mind that any such scheme could be undertaken from mere disinterested and philanthropic motion, but the fortuitous occurrences above referred to have given a peculiarly active shape to their religious suspicions.’\*

Mr. Chapman was Inspector of Behar, where no doubt the obstacles arising from prejudice, and the apprehension of Christianity were, and even now are, greater than in any other portion of the Lower Provinces, but similar complaints were made from all quarters, and the difficulties appeared almost insuperable.

In order to overcome the aversion to vernacular instruction, it was resolved to establish a number of model vernacular schools in each District, in the hope that their example might stimulate a taste for an education of a similar description; and that material advantages might not be wanting, vernacular scholarships of Rs. four a month were annually bestowed in fixed quantities on the best boys of schools of that description, being made tenable half at the Normal School to prepare their holders as teachers, and half at the English Zillah Schools to convey the coveted advantages of an English education. The Government moreover issued a general order to the effect that all appointments in the public service exceeding in value Rs. six a month, should in future be given to those only who could at least read and write. But this order we fear has remained very nearly a dead letter.

At the same time it was generally agreed that no scheme of education for the masses could offer any prospect of success which failed to utilise and improve the indigenous village schools, under the time-honored but useless 'guru mahashoys' who, although the value of their teaching might be reckoned as worse than useless, possessed a stronghold on the affections of the people. Accordingly groups of three or four such schools were included in *circles* as they were called, and a teacher of the new class appointed to each circle to visit the schools under him in rotation and impart some knowledge of a more satisfactory description, while money rewards and a variety of inducements were held out to the gurus to adopt proper books and improve themselves generally.

The University scheme long delayed was at last sanctioned, (the Act of Incorporation is II. 1857,) and in March 1857 its first Entrance Examination was held. It is alien to our purpose to describe its constitution or machinery, but its inauguration placed the finishing touch to the scheme for a satisfactory higher-class education.

It should be borne in mind that what we are writing of occurred but as yesterday, the system can hardly be said to have commenced working till after the mutiny; even under the most favourable circumstances it might reasonably be urged that *many years must elapse* before such measures could be under-



stood, and still more trusted, by the suspicious population of the Mofussil. Such however has been its extraordinary success, so rapid its progress, that when we say that the number of students throughout Bengal has increased in six or seven years six or seven hundred per cent., we only give one of many indications of the great change which is taking place.

The impulse given by the University has been immense, the annual examination admitting students to enter it, became almost immediately the standard by which every English school throughout the country regulated its *curriculum*, and whether a boy is able to study at the University or not, to 'pass the Entrance,' is regarded as almost a *sine qua non* in proof that he has made a proper use of his school career.

Accordingly we find the number of candidates at each examination to have been as follows:—

March	1857 ...	244.
"	1858 ...	464.
"	1859 ...	706.
December	1859 ...	705. (nine months.)
"	1860 ...	808.
"	1861 ...	1,058.
"	1862 ...	1,114.
"	1863 ...	1,327.

Of these from eighty to ninety per cent. and sometimes even more come from the provinces under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal only—and if we confine the area to a smaller compass, to the districts in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, in which alone the system can be said to have obtained a firm footing, it will be found that from 600 or 700 candidates are presenting themselves annually from the districts of Burdwan, Hooghly, 24-Pergunnahs, Nuddea, and Jessore only.

If on the other hand we compare the numbers of the schools conducted on English principles, and the pupils studying in them, in 1862-63, with those in 1855, we find that the eighty-one schools have increased to 1,227, and the 9,474 pupils to 69,588. These figures especially those of the schools are perhaps somewhat fallacious, because a new class, indigenous schools under Government supervision, have been brought into computation, which though it did not exist in the same form before, at any rate existed; yet so great is the comparative improvement in most of these schools, so different the class of teachers and the nature of the instruction that it would hardly be unfair to credit the

entire number as a gain to education. If the numbers are analyzed however the result is as follows :—

	On 27th Jany. 1855.		On 30th April 1863.	
	No.	Scholars.	No.	Scholars.
Colleges (of all kinds)	8	921	10	1,500
Anglo - Vernacular Schools of all kinds	47	7,412	219	21,381
Vernacular Schools of all kinds	26	1,141	468	24,082
Indigenous Schools, Circle Schools, &c.	0	0	530	22,625
	81	9,474	1,227	69,588*

As far as mere numbers are concerned, more signal proof of the success of any measure could not be found than these results of a scheme sketched out in England in 1854 and scarcely put into operation in India before 1857. And if we turn to other than numerical tests the results are hardly less decisive; generally speaking, the fear of conversion to Christianity which Mr. Chapman pointed out in the passage quoted above, is rapidly disappearing and in many places has entirely vanished. Doubtless there are a few influential persons of the old school who still distrust the Government, but even in England the race of persons who were sworn never to set foot in a railway carriage is hardly yet extinct; apart, however, from exceptional cases it may be said that on all sides confidence is springing up, and it is hard to decide whether the readiness with which natives send their children to mission schools is more a subject of congratulation or lament; for while it reflects the highest honour on the missionaries as showing that they are implicitly relied on to bring legitimate influence *only* to bear on the work of conversion, it also shows that the natives rate the effects of legitimate influence as altogether beneath apprehension.

On another point also the measures of Government have been crowned with success; the vernacular scholarships have far exceeded the most sanguine anticipations; at least we trace to this rather than to any other cause the wonderful impetus

\* These figures include neither the private Colleges affiliated to the University nor any of the large and numerous private schools in Calcutta, as no aid is ever given to such schools; the figures given under the head of colleges can hardly be used as any criterion, because different principles of distinguishing between a school and a college prevailed at the two periods which we have selected for comparison.



which has been given to vernacular education. Judged by numbers only, it will be seen that where English education has increased 200 per cent. vernacular education has increased by upwards of 2,000 per cent.; and yet the old preference for English appears to be as strong as ever. Whenever an aided vernacular school increases sufficiently in prosperity, the first step of the managers is to have it converted into an Anglo-vernacular school, and we cannot but think that the hope of gaining for their children by means of these scholarships, an Anglo-vernacular education at the public expense is one of the main incentives with those persons who set up vernacular schools.

In order to complete the sketch of educational successes, it only remains to notice the indigenous schools and the circle system the introduction of which has been already referred to. The circle system proved unsatisfactory, and it was perceived that each patshala *guru* must be separately educated at the normal schools. In order to carry out this plan in detail, Baboo Bhodeb Mookerjee was appointed in the end of 1862 as an additional Inspector to have sole charge of this Department in Burdwan, Nuddea, and Jessore.

How the system was worked will best appear from his report dated the 19th May 1863. 'No provision had been made under the original scheme for the education of the gurus; and the mere offer of money rewards from time to time was incapable of acting upon these men as an inducement to adopt an improved course of study at their schools. This it was conceded was the weak point of the scheme, and here great improvements have been gradually introduced. A plan was at first devised according to which a certain number of gurus were to be transferred as stipendiary pupils to a vernacular Normal school, trained pupils from which were deputed to hold their places in the patshalas until the gurus could be prepared for re-assuming charge of their proper duties.

'This plan has tried for about a year in a certain number of patshalas in the district of Burdwan. The officers who had then to report upon its results found that the force of circumstances had developed two new and striking features of the system under experiment. It was found by them (first) that the gurus had for the most part withheld themselves from the normal schools, where it had been supposed they were gone for training, and secondly that the villages had invariably nominated their future gurus to represent these men at the normal schools. These facts it was suggested ought to be taken as guides in the prosecution of the experiment. It was likewise recommended that the system of

'rewards to the gurus, at first proposed, which was complicated and liable to abuse, should give way to that of payment by fixed stipends. To ensure still greater certainty to any future operations under the scheme, it was further deemed advisable that the villagers who nominated their *future* gurus, as well as their nominees, should be required to bind themselves severally by written agreements.'\*

The success of these measures can be best ascertained from the fact that already within the few months which elapsed between the appointment of Bhoodeb Mookerjee and his report, 239 villages in the three districts had entered into the specified agreements, and 239 future teachers were under training in the Government Training School, and all those villages which, as appears by page 225 of the report, could furnish not less than twenty-five pupils a piece.

Thus far we have endeavoured to show that a desire for education has taken a firm hold of the upper and middle class Hindoos,† and it is hardly possible to doubt that it will continue to increase until it reaches the natural level of the exciting cause, that is,—the material advantages to be derived from education. In fine, if employment requiring educated men can be found for five per cent. of the entire population, the progress of education will never be checked until it reaches, or rather until it somewhat overflows that level. But the crisis of its extension will then have arrived. For although there are some Hindoos who take a very lively interest in education, and although nearly all would, *ceteris paribus*, prefer their children to be educated rather than uneducated, yet it hardly appears at present that either of these motives is sufficiently powerful to induce them to submit to the trouble and expense of their education, except with a view to remunerative or, at the least, compensatory employment. In all countries the education of those classes who live by labour and derive no palpable pecuniary benefit from what they have learnt is necessarily scanty, but in Bengal there is a strong prejudice against labour on the part of all who can read and write, and, were a man who had been taught only these rudiments told that he must nevertheless look to manual labour for a livelihood, he would probably regard himself as a deluded and injured

\* General Report of Public Instruction for 1862-63, Appendix A. p. 208.

† It must be almost superfluous for us to say anything of the marked absence of Mahomedans from the rising class of educated persons. Many Schools in the Mofussil do not contain a single Mahomedan scholar. A Mahomedan Teacher in one of the new class of Schools is quite a phenomenon. One statistical fact, however taken at random will suffice. At the Entrance Examination for 1862-63, analysed by Mr. Woodrow in the report, quoted above, out of 477 candidates who passed, 430 were Hindoos, 34 Christians, and 13 Mahomedans.



person. It is for this class of course that the indigenous Schools last referred to were intended, but although *we* know the purpose for which the Government establishes the schools, we do not know the motives with which *the people* send their children to them, and are beginning to nominate trained gurus. It is not unlikely that many of them believe that, as the students of the zillah schools get good employment, the students of the village schools may hope to get employment, inferior indeed, but still something above the drudgery of ordinary labour. In short, every one who now educates his children does so with a view that they may better their condition if they were born in a humble or middle sphere of life, and that they may retain it, if born in an upper sphere. To foster and encourage this notion was of course of primary importance in extending education, and in this view the success in Bengal can hardly be any longer questioned; but before India can be made even to approximate to other countries in this respect, it is indispensable that a further success should be obtained, and that the lower classes should be induced to acquire the rudiments of education for its own sake and for the sake of the comfort and advantages it confers, and without any ulterior view of raising themselves above the ordinary employments of common life.

How far and how soon this will be accomplished it is difficult to say; though we believe the day is not far distant, it is perhaps safer, in discussing the effects of education, not to assume that it will necessarily penetrate beyond those classes who, with regard to the nature of their employment and not to their mental training, may always be termed educated. Assuming that they are rapidly becoming, and will in a very few years have become, educated on the European system, what effects may this be expected to exercise on the future welfare and prospects of Bengal? This is the subject to which we have addressed ourselves, and it may naturally be regarded in a three-fold aspect; first moral, secondly socio-political, and thirdly religious. The moral benefit which it was supposed that European education would produce was regarded by some persons as the greatest and most important of all the advantages which would flow from it, and because no moral improvement can be clearly and undeniably shown, the opponents of education urge this as the most complete of all proofs that it is an useless and expensive failure. We cannot but admit that the fault lies in great measure at the door of those who led the public to believe that there was any necessary connection between two such totally distinct things as education and morality. The splendid contempt which

Englishmen frequently show for the principles of induction is marvellous. *Any effect* which they find among their countrymen, they consider themselves entitled to assume as due to *any cause* which may suit their convenience. That we have the most democratic aristocracy, and the most aristocratic democracy in the world, has been successively assigned to our Public Schools, to our law of primogeniture, to rotten boroughs, to open voting, to our House of Lords, to our limited monarchy, to our municipal institutions, and we are not certain even that our national debt may not some day be credited with a share of its production. It is admitted that law in England is admirably administered. It is because it has never been codified, because of our trial by jury, because of our rules of evidence (may it not be ?) because every lawyer's physical digestion is tested by thirty-six dinners before the work of legal digestion can be inaugurated. Although it is not impossible that the true cause may in either of these cases be in some way connected with those enumerated, yet the fact remains that we are in the habit of arbitrarily assigning causes with a rashness which appears almost incredible. So it was in the matter of morality ; the English are in their way a moral people, above all they are particularly moral in those points in which the people of India are particularly deficient ; the English people are also educated, the people of India were not, why search any further ? Give the natives an education, does it not follow that they will at once rise to the standard of English morality ? at least it never occurred to the educational enthusiast that it did not, the connection appeared intimate enough to defy criticism. Now unfortunately it so happens that, if the opponents of English education, or the old champions of Sanscrit and Persian were to turn their attention to this argument, the causation they might establish between Shakespeare and drunkenness, between English literature and intoxication, is overwhelming indeed. Is not Shakespeare the English poet, and are not the English one of the most drunken nations in Europe ? English literature is engrafted in India ; at once a race of wine-drinking Baboos are spouting Goldsmith and declaiming with Burke, and by a judicious dissemination of Shakespeare's plays we have trebled and quadrupled the Abkaree Revenue. The argument is so strong that in the interests of education we hardly venture to dilate upon it, lest we should be guilty of the perversion and alienation of its former friends.

We can hardly conceive a more unfortunate *non sequitur* than the assumption that to educate a nation constitutes the royal road to improve their morality. Is this the lesson that



history has taught us? Was the Athens of Solon immoral until educated by Pericles, Sophocles, and Aristophanes? Did Roman integrity date its rise from Virgil and Horace and the Augustan age? Did the intellectual pre-eminence of the reign of Elizabeth and Charles II. coincide with an appropriate increase of attendant virtues? It would certainly be far easier to maintain the proposition that education makes a nation immoral than that it makes it in any way more moral.

Practically, men seem to perform moral actions from three grounds,—from religious convictions, from sentiments whether of conscience, honour, or prejudice, and from self-interest. As regards the first motive morality will obviously be the gainer by the substitution of a better religion for a worse. No doubt many persons hoped that religion would effect this,—why it has failed to do so belongs rather to our third head, but we may remark here that thus far in India, and apparently in all parts of the world, the effect of education has rather been to weaken all religious faith, and so to injure morality as far as that motive is concerned. As regards the second motive also, the tendency of education being to substitute reason and the general opinions of mankind for every description of sentiment, it again operates unfavourably.

It might perhaps be said that the tone of English literature being on the whole moral, it might be hoped that it would foster morality by what we may call the prejudice of association. No doubt many principles of honour and virtue among *men* owe their existence to such principles having always been associated with commendation and approval during the period of their boyhood; and perhaps, next to those persons who looked to Christianity to accomplish the desired results, this was and is the main source of hope with those who thought to build up morality on the foundation of education. We cannot but think however that the anticipated benefit is very much exaggerated. There is perhaps far more of cause than effect in what we recognise among ourselves; certain virtuous principles are characteristic of our nation, *therefore* books inculcating those principles are at a premium; we have a certain national sympathy for certain virtues, therefore we applaud them wherever we find them; it is easy to see the causation here. But to reverse the view, if a moral tone has any great share in the production of moral sentiments, (as we admit it may have) it must either do so by strength of argument or weight of authority; to do so by sympathy obviously requires the *prior* existence of the moral sentiment. If by argument, it must be based either on the utilitarian view,—that is, on our interests in the present life, or on the religious, that is our interests in a future state. The latter,

as is evident, can only come into operation, where there is a similarity of religious convictions; the former is the head (self-interest) to which we are immediately about to advert.

It will however be generally admitted that the anticipated effect is looked for in a much greater degree from authority, or what in this case is much the same thing, association, (by the influence of association we mean the tendency to adopt sentiments consonant to the public view or the voice of a party which has gained our adherence) than from mere reasoning; and this is a principle which can hardly be expected to operate with any effect in the present instance. To carry weight, the authority must be that of persons whom we feel to be superior but similar to ourselves. To win confidence some degree of resemblance must be necessary, and is not winning the confidence of a person the surest or almost only road to exercising any authoritative influence over him? But when the writer is foreign and essentially *alien* in every mode and habit of thought from the reader, the mere weight of authority becomes indefinitely reduced; the book at best sinks down to the level of a sort of armoury, whence weapons can be drawn forth when the opinions conform to the wishes of the reader, and to be forgotten and ignored whenever they differ.

But if little or no sentiment favourable to morality can be obtained from the authoritative influence of literature, there are many such sentiments which the habit of reasoning dissipates. Duelling, chivalry, in a great measure the old-fashioned kind of loyalty are instances of sentiments which have suffered in this way; but why particularise? Every one of us can surely trace through life the process of the dissipation of a host of sentiments by the practical reasoning of the experience of life.

We will now turn to the third motive of morality, (self-interest) in which alone the influence of education can be judged to be favourable; for it certainly does teach persons to know their true and real interest and to be guided by it. A consideration of this will show us that we ought to expect a great difference in the effects of education in public and private life; it is the great aim of modern legislators, and it is a task not altogether impracticable, to make it for the interest of every one to act rightly and fairly towards the public as far as regards his position as a member of society. A well regulated self-interest is the most potent of all the means which a Government can employ to secure the co-operation of the public in carrying out the law, and it is not difficult to see that this is precisely what is being effected in India. If private morality has not deteriorated among the educated classes, it is as much as can be said, and we are



very much afraid that, while other vices remain at least as prevalent as before, drunkenness has very much increased; but as regards the work of Government and public morality, great improvement may be discerned, and is only the less easily discernible, because the educated classes form so small a proportion compared to the entire body of the people. Still it is admitted in all side that public abuses,—the oppression of zemindars, the corruption of *omlah*, the torture of accused persons,—are in the decrease. Moreover they are in the decrease most in those districts, where education is the most widely extended; the extortion of court officials is very much reduced, but among educational officials, an income beyond that derived from salary and authorised emoluments is almost unknown, although there are plenty of duties in the performance of which a dexterous *omlah* of the old school would have discovered opportunities of augmenting his receipts.

Even if morality is not more *practised* than before, it is at any rate becoming necessary publicly to *profess* it and ostensibly to applaud it. Every class is beginning to perceive the necessity of maintaining a good reputation, and the few trades or professions (*e. g.* that of mooktears) which are known to be scandalous, are universally looked down upon. Offences against the public meet more and more with execration, except when strong national or class prejudices are aroused, and a kind of public spirit, though still feeble, is growing up. This is as much as can be expected from education. Private and individual morality must rest in something better than knowledge for its foundation, public morality can be based on an enlightened perception of class interest or self-interest, and with that gain we must rest content.

We now pass to our second head, on which indeed we have already begun to encroach.

Perhaps the socio-political is the most important of all the three heads under which we are considering the effects of education. This too is the result which appears to us more generally overlooked and despised, and yet it is that which of all others can be the most easily traced to its proper cause. In one sense indeed there is in India no division of political power; the Government may from treaties or other sources have a certain right to rule, (whether it has so or not is foreign to our argument) but undoubtedly, as far as the English power in India extends, it is constitutionally undivided, and entirely vested in one body, the East India Company, as formerly controlled by, and now entirely superseded by, the English Crown. Other functionaries may exercise great, even greater power than the Crown, but such power cannot be independent, it is merely *permissive* and may at any time be curtailed or even altogether

taken away. Power cannot therefore in India, as it has done in the United States or in Canada, or might do in England or any other self-governed country, directly and constitutionally change hands owing to the increase in influence or numbers of one class in proportion to that of other classes. But, abandoning the constitutional method of change of power, and leaving out of calculation the remote contingency of the ruling body voluntarily abdicating its authority, there still remains for consideration the possibility of a direct change of power through a revolution, and an indirect change through the increase of legitimate influence. Hitherto the former (in other words, a mutiny) has been the only point about which the Anglo-Indian Public has troubled itself; but now it is easy to see that the education of the natives is rapidly increasing the latter possibility to very formidable proportions. The avowed principle of the Indian Government is that, though the ruling power is English and despotic, it regards and treats all races and all classes of its subjects with strict equality. It is here that the increase of indirect power enters in. There is always in every country a contest between the rights and claims of rival parties and classes; however dominant a class may be, there is always some debatable ground where the encroachers are endeavouring to encroach a little more, and the encroached upon to recover a step from the encroachers. Practically in India there are two ways in which the doctrine of equality is open to discussions of this nature. *1st*,—by the privileges of Europeans, which are a violation of the principle of equality; *2ndly*,—by the preferences for Europeans, which appear to be so. By far the most notable among the first is the privilege of being tried at the Presidency Courts. Among the second is the preference shown by the Government for Europeans in its choice of officials, and especially in forming a class of Covenanted Civilians chosen entirely in England. It is evident that, as the influence of natives increases, these are the sort of points against which they naturally direct their attacks. In former years there was cause to dread their strength in *breaking* the Government, but never their persuasion in *bending* it. The old established parties consisted of non-official Europeans pressing their own claims, and officials voluntarily espousing and sometimes inventing those of the natives, but now it is impossible to avoid the fact that a strong native party has sprung up and is yearly increasing in strength and importance. The American habit of associations was imported into India by the Europeans, but it has been already adopted by the natives, and the British Indian Association has already grown into a recognised body. A vigorous and aggressive press,



sometimes adopting a style which would not be tolerated for a month in France, is rapidly extending its influence, and is regarded by the Government as of such importance that a translator and establishment are entertained to make a weekly abstract of its contents. In every thing we find this power of the natives, we might almost call it the third power in the country, on the increase. The officials are no longer *entreated* to protect their rights, it is *demande*d that they should do so, and they are roundly and vigorously abused even for the suspicion of partiality. The free and independent style of English literature is made to do service against English exclusiveness and pride of race, and the strife of words and arguments is nowhere shunned and often eagerly invited.

It is impossible for any disinterested person to object to this; for though the power of arguing and writing and associating and agitating for political purposes is no doubt very formidable; and though it does not follow that, because the Government is absolute, it will not be convinced or persuaded into granting to the demands of those who make use of such power with ability, more than expediency or justice demands; yet there are certain kinds of power, the exercise of which seems naturally just and proper. Oratory, for example, is a means of gaining more than what is due, sometimes not less effectual than force, yet it is universally agreed that the former power ought to be allowed full play, and the latter to be entirely restrained, at least in the internal affairs of a nation.

This then is just what is happening in Bengal.

The educated natives have justly assumed that the Supreme Government of India is desirous to be fairly and reasonably impartial, and will not intentionally disregard a just and obvious right. Starting from this point they have begun to set in motion all the powers of argument and persuasion, of intellect and judgment, freedom of speech and pertinacity, agitation and association, and thus to fight the battle of their claims wherever they appear to have a convincing or even admissible ground for doing so.

Mr. Woodrow, the most experienced of the educationalists, not only clearly perceives the growth of the power, but also attribute it, as we are doing, directly to the effects of Indian education. In writing about the results of the Entrance Examination for the Calcutta University for December 1862 he says, 'The brief review of the results promises topics well worthy of a fuller consideration than I can be permitted to give them. The Hindoos are still far ahead of other races. Near the Presidency they have moved with the progress of the times,

'the Mussulman still remains unwilling to teach his children English. The Europeans and East Indians are drawn from a very limited community—but the paucity of their numbers at the examination proves that the middle and lower ranks of the Christian community of this country *are not yet alive to the fact that power is passing from them into the hands of well-educated Hindoos, and that the change is due to their neglect of education.* While speaking of race I may mention the remarkable fact that numerous Hindoos feel now so ashamed of the religion of their country as to adopt in large numbers varying forms of Brahmoism, Pantheism, Deism, Atheism, &c. One student, by race a Hindoo, entered himself as an Universalist; out of the 1,114 candidates of this year 104 young Hindoos repudiated their ancestral creed and entered themselves under one or other of the above phases of faith. This surely is one of the signs of the times.\*

The influence of the Hindoo community being thus on the increase, it is easy to see that they are using it, as we previously stated, to attack the European privileges and preferences. As far as the privileges are concerned, we are afraid that they must sooner or later go. The Black Acts, as they are called, would long since have become law, had it not been for the European outcry against them, and if the native pressure for their introduction became greater and carried more weight than this adverse pressure, it is easy to see that they would soon be introduced; in fact the recent proceedings with reference to the Grand Jury would appear to indicate that Government is even now endeavouring to pave the way for their introduction by safe and gradual stages. Personally, we have no sympathies one way or the other; it is open to very grave doubts whether the rendering Europeans amenable to the criminal jurisdiction of the Local Courts, is politically expedient; but there cannot reasonably be a doubt that, *after laying down the principle of equal treatment of races*, the exceptional exemption of Europeans becomes inconsistent and untenable.

The entertainment of a civil establishment of chaplains and clergy out of the public revenue appears to us a clear infringement of the equality of creed, and as such is also open to attack. In the case of the army it may perhaps be justifiable, as the Government of India requires the services of a certain number of English regiments, and must therefore take them over, establishments and all, complete, as they ordinarily are to be found in the service of the Crown, but why should Govern-

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\* Report on Public Instruction, 1862-63, Appendix A. p. 14.



ment provide religious consolation to those of its servants of one creed *only* at the public expense? where any creed is *established* the case is different, for the Government then reasonably may say, we *tolerate* other creeds, we *establish* this one. But there is no creed established in India.

The case of preferences is quite distinct, but while they are perfectly tenable in principle, they will, many of them, have great difficulty in holding their ground in time. The main point of difference is that, although every class and every race of the community are entitled to equal laws, the public good is the only ground on which any one can base a title to share in the administration of the country. The Government therefore is beyond a doubt justified in choosing whomsoever it pleases for its servants, and for imposing on itself any rules for their choice, provided it is in so doing actuated by motives of public expediency alone.

To take as an illustration the condition by which the Government is bound that in selecting Judges of the High Court, not less than one-third shall be Barristers of England and Ireland, and not less than one-third covenanted civilians. Here the only real question is, do these restrictions really conduce to the selection of a better and more efficient Bench, than might be chosen were these abandoned? so long as the Government sincerely believe this, the preference is no real partiality. The same may be said of the general preference for employing Europeans in the high official posts, whether covenanted or uncovenanted; *ceteris paribus*, it would perhaps be fairer that Government should bestow employment on that race which is proportionately least represented in the official class; but so long as Europeans are in many descriptions of work more useful as Government servants than natives, partiality would rather be shown if they were not employed.

Still, though the principle of preference for Europeans may be sound, it obviously depends on expediency, and the more the Hindoos advance in knowledge, and the more they come to the front in the discussion of public matters, the more resolutely will this expediency be questioned; especially as it is evident that the Hindoos do possess in a marked degree *some* of the qualifications for public employment. In urging their own relative capability, they of course are led to criticise the present class of officials, and this has already led in some respects to their improvement; to take the judicial department as an illustration;—where formerly beyond impartiality and common sense little else was looked for in any but the highest functionaries, now a knowledge not only of the Regulation law, but also of

the general principles of law, is expected, and the marked improvement is acknowledged from all quarters.

But although the official class appear to be as a rule alive to the necessity of self-improvement, in order to maintain their ground; it seems that the non-official Europeans have not been equally awake to their interests, and have contented themselves with sneering at the nascent activity of the Hindoos, instead of rating the movement at its true value and importance. The British Indian Association appears to be gaining more and more influence every day, while all the old European associations are confessedly on the decline. In the Calcutta Municipality, too, the native members have made themselves far more conspicuous than was anticipated. If we turn to the Press we find the same general contempt expressed for the native publications, and the same failure to appreciate their real importance. What gives a colour to this depreciation is that these publications have so many and such transparent faults that it is easy to criticise; but however erroneous they may seem, ideas which are circulated throughout the entire educated portion of Bengal and, through this medium probably, among a large portion of the uneducated classes also, cannot be lightly despised. But apart from this, the Bengallee Press shows a great aptitude for improvement, and any reader of the *Hindu Patriot* must be able to recall numerous subjects of public interest which have been treated by that paper with more correctness and ability than by the Anglo-Indian press.

More especially do the latter err, as a rule, in urging claims that cannot be reasonably maintained, and thereby damaging those which are reasonable. The demand for a Criminal Contract Law, for a Law of Master and Servant, and several other demands, are whether expedient or not, at any rate worthy of attentive consideration; this they often fail to obtain, in part through the unreasonable claims put forward in other matters, such as Waste Lands, self-government, &c. The effect which this and the unmeasured abuse of unpopular officials must produce in England, may easily be judged from the effect which it produced on the 'Competition-wallah.' The entire absence of appreciation for the other side of the question exhibited by him, is precisely the counterpart of what takes place at home, and is derived from the fact that the persons who put forward that 'other side' have in many of the questions really nothing to be said for them; while if those who live in India know that in exhibiting planters' assistants flouting and kicking about natives in rank their superiors, he was representing as a type of a class its worst specimens only, it must at any rate be re-



membered that non-official public opinion seldom visits such conduct with the reprehension it deserves, and that, if it expostulates at all, it does so in a tone of semi-approbation. The events of the mutiny necessarily gave a great impetus to the non-official (European) element; for some time we should say that it exercised a power too great for the good government of the country, but it soon reached its climax, and since then has been gradually on the decline. *In India* though it has decreased, it is still stronger than native influence, in fact, with the officials drawn to a great extent from the Anglo-Indian element, and mixing more or less with it in private life, even when not so drawn, it is difficult to see how non-official influence can fail to exercise due weight; but the Home Government is more and more concentrating all power in itself every year, and hence the question becomes of vital importance, what influence is in the ascendant there? Of course the Indian officials, as a sort of go-between, have great weight, and, were they unanimous on any subject not immediately connected with their own interests, their opinion would probably carry the day; but such unanimity can hardly ever be found, and where two nearly-balanced parties exist, we are not sure that the native influence is not even greater than that of the non-official class; which, in some degree perhaps owing to its attacks on Sir Charles Wood, is now at a very low ebb in England. As a natural consequence of this, while the European Press consistently and unanimously deprecates 'home interference,' the Native Press as consistently contends for its increase as being the very best thing for India.

In endeavouring to forward education, the acknowledged object of the Government was to form an intermediate class, which would operate as an interpreter between the ruling power and the people of the country, and would explain to them its views and objects, which they had often so lamentably misunderstood. In this respect education has undoubtedly succeeded, and the intermediate class which is being raised up, has on the whole done its work fairly and moderately. But, as a necessary consequence, this position, and still more the converse of it, (the interpreting to Government the wishes of the people) has greatly enhanced the importance of the class and increased its influence. Still no reasonable objection to it can be urged, and if a balance between the benefits and drawbacks resulting from it were to be struck, the former would clearly predominate. If the European community wish to preserve any vestige of influence, at least in England, they must bestir themselves, and be prepared to meet the requirements of the times, and above all to keep clear of demands which cannot be reasonably sustained.

It remains to consider how far this new influence of education affects the stability of our empire in India, how far it increases the difficulty of our holding the country. No doubt the educated natives in reality like the Government little or no better than their uneducated countrymen,—it is contrary to human nature that any race should contentedly resign itself to the dominion of foreigners. If the educated party had any sympathy with the mutinous party, they might form a very formidable coalition. As however the Mussulmans of the North-West are almost the only persons from whom rebellion need be apprehended, and as they have always been notoriously the most unflinching and consistent opponents of English education, it is almost impossible that any union could take place between them and the educated Hindoos of Bengal. However much they dislike our rule, these latter are quite capable of perceiving that it is this only which gives them their importance and position, and that they would immediately lose everything were that rule to cease. Add to this the general aversion to the employment of actual force which education generates, and we may infer that, so far from being a source of weakness, the new state of things will rather increase the security of the Government, at least until the time when the new party becomes so strong, that they may reasonably hope to be the power which would succeed to the English supremacy were anything to happen to it. Whether an entirely free native press should also be counted as a source of strength to the Government is a much more difficult question. The habitual contempt of a Government cannot but weaken its prestige, and if Louis Napoleon considers some censorship necessary in France, still more may it be necessary in India. It is a matter of conflicting expediency, whether the benefit of allowing perfect freedom to the press as a kind of safety valve for discontented spirits, is or is not counteracted by the injury which the abuse that is occasionally flung at the Government may work; but we have no sympathy with those who consider the uncontrolled liberty of the Press as a right; a person has no more right to say, than to do, anything which by its inflammatory or revolutionary character is likely to endanger the public peace or security. If civil liberty is defined as natural liberty curtailed in some respects, *pro bono publico*, the civil liberty of writing anything is evidently a right curtailable for a similar reason.

We have said enough however on the political effects of education, it is now time to turn to our last head, that of its religious influence. Here the facts are plain and uniform enough, for hardly any one will contend against Mr. Woodrow's assertion, that it is rapidly weaning the Hindoos from their old religion,



without replacing it by any other. What he gives in the passage above quoted as the statistics of those who openly profess to have separated from it, but inadequately represents the numbers who privately and in their inward convictions have more or less given up belief in it. That this is the general type of the educated Hindoo is notorious; in fact, it is difficult to express anything less than admiration for the rapidity with which they have abandoned a false religion under the assaults of the unbending logic of facts. On the other hand those who hoped that conversion to Christianity would ensue cannot but be sadly disappointed.

The opinion is indeed constantly maintained that the general prevalence of deism is a necessary step, a transition stage between Hinduism and Christianity. Those, however, who think thus appear to us to be entirely in error, to be confusing ideas essentially and radically opposite. It is true that it frequently happens that the effect of carrying any principle to excess is to lead to a revulsion in favour of the converse principle; but there is a vast difference between retrogression and direct progress on the road along which the mind has commenced to travel. A religion may be dogmatical on scientific questions, as well as on theological, as are all the ancient religions and for example Hinduism; it might be dogmatical on religious questions only, like Roman Catholicism, or, like some of the forms of Protestantism, dogmatical on certain points, but on a less complete and comprehensive principle, or, like other forms, altogether undogmatical, but nevertheless maintaining in the broad outline a general form of belief; or, refusing any special revelation, it might be deistical, or it might be atheistical. From the first of these each of the intervening stages might be rightly called a step towards the last, but to say when a person has overstepped a stage that he is on the road to it, is an obvious abuse of terms. It does not follow that logically the mind must necessarily continue to descend from one of these phases to the next, that there is no '*via media*,' no consistent halting ground, but in the extremes, and we only mean to show the gradual transition from the first to the last, as opposed to retrogression or irregular change; *primâ facie* and without penetrating beneath the surface or entering into details, there is nothing to prevent any one of those we enumerated being true. Still, when a mind is once set in motion, if it follows a normal course, it will generally pass either up or down the scale until it reaches its natural limit; the Hindoo limit appears to lie between Christianity and Atheism, the former of which the Hindoos appear clearly to have overshot.

'Are there then any signs of a reaction, are they likely to *go back* 'to Christianity?' that is the correct way to put the question. To look forward to any *distant* period is of course beyond the scope of our enquiry; it is even difficult, as was said in one of the articles in our last number, to foresee what will be the nature of the religion which we may then be offering for the acceptance of the natives of India; it is of course also impossible to make any allowance for special and superhuman influences; but with these limitations, it cannot but be admitted that no indications of such a change are discernible. One of the best tests in a case of this kind is to look at the tendency of thought among the most advanced and most thoroughly educated of those whose future we are endeavouring to anticipate; do we see that among educated Bengallees it is 'a *little knowledge*' which is adverse to Christianity, and that deeper draughts correct the vagaries of the earlier flights of the intellect? If so we may hope that as education becomes more sound and complete, and loses its present characteristic of superficiality, a reaction will become more probable. This test however is altogether unfavourable: the cleverest and ablest Hindoos almost to a man become Brahmoists or Deists, while with the rarest exceptions the converts belong to a lower or at best medium order of intellect. We know a flourishing and well conducted English mission school under a convert Head master, whose intellectual attainments are avowedly unequal to the charge; but the reason the managers retain him is that they naturally enough consider it desirable to limit the field of selection to Christians only, and that with this restriction *they cannot procure a more competent man*; yet the salary is higher than that which proves ample to secure the services of any competent Hindoos or Brahmoists. Even the missionaries themselves tacitly acknowledge that a higher style of education is unfavourable to them, by their avowal that progress in the plains of Bengal is hopeless, and by the general tendency which can be perceived on all sides to turn to the Sonthals and Coles and other primitive races for success and recompense. To these they are able to offer civilisation with one hand, and Christianity with the other; and the occasion of bestowing the first affords the very best opportunity for procuring a favourable reception for the second.

Nothing can be further from our purpose in these remarks, than to impute any fault to the missionaries, for whom we have a deep respect and admiration; if all Europeans in India only lead their lives, one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of Christianity would be removed; but even in this event they *we difficulties to contend against*, for which, individually at



any rate, they cannot be held responsible, and which could hardly be other than insuperable. An English education not only opens up a mine of literary wealth, directly or indirectly imbued with Christian thought; but it also furnishes the key to Hume and Gibbon, to Bayle and Voltaire, whose writings carry not only the full weight due to their acknowledged intellect, but even a weight more than their due; for being, by birth at least, Europeans and Christians, their works are naturally invested by Asiatics and Hindoos with all the *overwhelming* value which attaches to the admissions of adverse witnesses. Against this sort of writers what is there per contra? The teaching of almost a score of different sects which, while they sometimes to their credit abandon their differences, not unfrequently on the other hand enter into avowed and open hostility with one another. While they all agree in teaching that Christianity is 'one Faith, one Baptism,' they not only disagree altogether in what are essential component parts of that Faith, but differ even more in their view of Baptism, than in any other article of religion. Neither is this the only point in which the subject matter of the teaching is unadapted to those whom it is sought to win over. The Competition-wallah, whose letters appear already to have become a recognised part of standard Indian literature, truly remarks that 'Protestantism insists that her doctrines shall be judged separately on their merits, and then swallowed in the lump, a process which requires a peculiar *conformation of intellect, which unfortunately is rare indeed.*'\* This does not apply to ignorant and semi-barbarous tribes, who, captivated by the superiorities of intellect and civilisation, can be induced to accept theological instruction also on the mere 'ipse dixit' of their civilisers; but it is pre-eminently true of the argumentative and speculative population of Bengal, with regard to whom it may be safely said that a religion of this kind, requiring a very rare kind of intellect, and unfitted for the common type of mankind, has, humanly speaking, no chance of any success worthy of the name. Whether Roman Catholicism would make any better progress than Protestantism can, is at present a matter for mere speculation; it is said that the French are beginning or have begun to send missions to Saigon, and if so, that settlement will afford a field for some sort of very general comparison. But with Protestantism as it is, with the conditions of the contest as they are, hostility of race, allying itself to hostility of creed, need we wonder that all the enormous expenditure and efforts of so many Societies (perhaps their

\* Letter No. VI. The Italics are ours.

number though is rather a drawback) produce such inadequate results?

Although thus far there are no reliable indications that the present current of Hindoo thought will ultimately assume any development towards Christianity, it may perhaps be worth while to analyse the general grounds on which such a reaction is frequently anticipated. The argument for it may be in broad terms thus stated. Deism may have been the religion of philosophers, and may have occasionally proved satisfactory and sufficient for persons of that kind; but among large masses of mankind it has never been able to stand its ground when confronted with Christianity; and the gradual rise of Deism in France during the latter part of the seventeenth century, culminating in the French Revolution and in the Goddess of Reason, and then disappearing from view like a reach of sand, before the re-advancing tide of Christianity, is the favourite illustration of this theory. In reply to this it is urged that in Roman Catholic countries that sort of ebb and flow of belief in Revelation has always been going on, and that the French Revolution is merely the most striking illustration of it, but that in Germany and England there has been for a long time a slow but steady rise of Latitudinarianism, hardly differing from Deism, which now forms the general belief of a very large, if not the largest, portion of educated men, and that there are not the slightest indications of any re-action, but on the contrary during the last eight or ten years the sceptical tendency has been more signal and unmistakable than ever. But Deism on a Protestant, and Deism on a Catholic foundation exhibit a marked distinction which renders the former unsuited for a fair illustration of what may be anticipated in non-Christian countries. Roman Catholicism being dogmatic on all points which are deemed essentials of Faith, it becomes impossible for Deism to be engrafted on it. The earliest tendencies in that direction at once necessitate a *total* separation, because no compromise is possible. The moral system of Christianity and the doctrinal system of the Church being taught on one and the self-same authority, are naturally abandoned at one and the same time. By this the necessity of searching for a new basis for a *practical* system of morality, which is *par excellence* the difficulty with those who reject Christianity, becomes immediately apparent, Deism is at once left to its own resources, and if it fails, a re-action begins to set in. But Protestantism generally, and even the English Church itself according to the opinions of many of its adherents, is not *absolutely dogmatical* on any point; hence the authority for the doctrines and moral code resting on private opinion, that private opinion can



reject the one and yet retain the other, doctrine after doctrine which is unpalatable can be discarded, but no separation is necessarily entailed, nor even the questioner rendered cognisant that he should consistently abandon Christianity. In this way we frequently see even the most vital doctrines, which others hold to be evidently *essential* to Christianity, abandoned, but the moral code retained, and therefore the difficulty characteristic of Deism indefinitely postponed.

This has happened in England and Germany; the morality of Christianity is retained, while the kernel of its doctrines is being more and more eaten away, until little but the shell remains. Hence we do not think their example in any way shows that the want of a system of morality based on a tenable foundation may not be felt in a country like India, and lead to a re-action in favour of Revelation. We have not used the word Deism in the foregoing remarks in its strict or technical sense, but have intended to convey by it, that general form of belief, which retains the idea of an eternal Spirit and Creator, but rejects every recognised religion as untrue.

It will of course have been apparent that we have not in this article intended or attempted to touch on the merits or defects of the present system of education; we believe it to err greatly in superficiality, and in its tendency to develop cramming at the expense of sound knowledge; probably these defects will be gradually remedied, but it has been entirely foreign to our subject to enter on this question. The reality and rapidity of its extension has been our only text, and the results of that extension the object of our article.

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ART. IX.—*Dippings in the Puranas.*

FEW literary productions are better known by name than the Hindoo Puranas, and yet we believe there is much ignorance amongst general readers as regards the true character of their subject matter. The popular European notion appears to be that they are a dull and confused collection of childish inventions and impure ideas, which are either hopelessly unintelligible, or else inconceivably repulsive. There is some truth in this judgment, but still we believe that it is formed from a superficial knowledge of the Puranas themselves. We admit that if the whole mass was published to-morrow, it would appear at first sight to be a literary jungle, in which long disquisitions upon the importance of fasting on one day rather than on another, or on the superiority of Vishnu to Siva, or of Siva to Vishnu, or of Krishna to either one or the other, would be mingled in wild confusion with wearisome accounts of the virtues of the Tulsi plant, or childish legends connected with particular places of pilgrimage, or contradictory genealogies, family traditions, accounts of the creation, fabulous geography, and miracles that would not impose on any boy or girl in an English charity school. But for all that, we maintain that the Puranas contain much that is interesting for all time; many genuine legends which carry us back to an age when nearly every condition of society and domestic tie differed in the widest possible manner from the conditions of modern civilisation. These old stories are frequently lost amidst the heavy Brahminical literature already indicated. Their very popularity has proved their ruin. For ages they appear to have been sources of delight to the people of this country, the 'household words' of families and villages dating back to the days of Rama; but to the European of the present day, and perhaps of any past day, they are as utterly unknown as were the plays of Shakespeare to the brilliant court of Louis Quatorze. And yet, whilst these old stories call up strange and picturesque visions of the past, and exhibit the play of the affections under circumstances altogether foreign to our own experience, they are invested with a truthfulness to human nature, and an unmistakeable reality, as impressive as the life-like pictures in Defoe's novels, and equally calculated to excite a universal interest and awaken a widespread sympathy. It is difficult and perhaps impossible



for the European to form a just estimate of the effect of suttee and polygamy upon the old social life of the people of India; but even under such circumstances the story of a wife's devotion, a woman's jealousy, or a mother's love will find some response in every bosom; and perchance may excite emotions in the heart of the European reader, almost as lively as those which animate the group of Hindoo villagers who may have gathered beneath the trees to hear the chanting of the ancient ballad, and whose excitement at every turn in the narrative is manifested in their lips and eyes.

Before however proceeding to dip into the Puranas, it will be necessary to indicate the character and period of these writings. The ancient history of India may be divided for all practical purposes into three great epochs, namely, the old Hindoo period, the Buddhist period, and the modern Hindoo or Puranic period. The old Hindoo period finds expression in the Vedas, and in the two famous epics known as the Ramayana and Mahabharata. The Buddhist period extends from about the fifth century before Christ down to the eighth or tenth century of the present era; and it should be borne in mind that this Buddhism was opposed to Hindooism, or rather to Brahminism, and especially rejected the caste system. But the Buddhist religion, after triumphing over Brahminism, began to decay in its turn, and finally was expelled from India during a national reaction in favour of Brahminism. It was during this national reaction that the Puranas appear to have originated. They may be regarded as the theological discourses by which the Brahmins converted back the people to their ancient faith; and in order to render their religious teaching more popular, the Gooroos occasionally adopted those oral traditions which they found current amongst the masses as a vehicle for religious instruction, and of course largely interpolated each legend with Brahminical precepts and interpretations. Modern Brahminism is therefore only to be found in the Puranas; but Brahminism is not the field of enquiry which we propose to enter upon the present occasion. The religious history of the Hindoos cannot be drawn from the Puranas alone, but only from a comprehensive and exhaustive study of the Vedas and Epics aided by the Puranas; and the results of such investigations would occupy volumes, and could not be even indicated within the limits of a mere essay. Our dippings will therefore be chiefly confined to the legends already indicated, which lie buried deep in the Puranic jungle, and can only be recovered and cleared from the superabundant growth of Brahminical fable and superstition at a considerable expense of time and labour. Moreover we shall rigidly confine ourselves to

one branch of the Puranic literature, namely, that which illustrates social life and manners. Students in Puranic cosmogony, geography, or chronology, or in Puranic ideas of government, religion, or morality, will find little or nothing on the present article to satisfy their cravings. We shall merely note such stories or observations as serve to throw a light on the old domestic life of the Hindoo as preserved in Puranic tradition, and procure if possible some glimpses into the human heart under circumstances so widely different from those which are familiar to ourselves. Some of these old traditions undoubtedly refer to the ancient Hindoo period which preceded Buddhism; whilst many of the precepts and ideas which have been added on to the story bear reference to the later Brahminical age which followed the decline and fall of the Budhistic system.

Our first illustration of ancient social life in India shall be drawn from the story of the marriage of a young Prince in the Tamul country in Southern India, as recorded in the Padma Purana. The outline of the story may be stated in a few words:—A distinguished sage or Muni had paid a visit to the palace of the Rajah, and had been most agreeably served by the Rajah's son, the Prince in question. In his delight at the attendance, the victuals, the garlands, and the perfumes, the sage acquainted the Prince that he was destined to die in his sixteenth year, but might escape his fate by going on a pilgrimage to Benares. There were but a few days to spare, and the young Prince, in his fear of approaching death, at once set off on the long journey. On his way he met with a strange adventure. A certain Rajah had betrothed his son to the daughter of a neighbouring Rajah, but the latter discovered that he had been deceived. It seems that the proposed bridegroom was an ugly hunchback, and his father had accordingly put forward the handsome son of a dependant to personate him at the betrothal. On the truth being known, after the betrothal and prior to the marriage ceremony, the father of the proposed bride declared war, when the other Rajah fell in with the young Tamul Prince, on his way to Benares, and induced him to personate the bridegroom, and after the marriage to leave the bride in the possession of the hunchback. This arrangement was carried out. The father of the Princess was again deceived, the Tamul Prince was married to the young lady, the pair were left alone, and the bridegroom fell down in a fainting fit. The alarm of the poor girl is described in appropriate language, and at length in reply to her affectionate entreaties, the Prince relates the true state of the case, *bids her to be a dutiful wife to the hunchback, and*



assures her that he himself is going to Benares to die.\* Here follows an affecting scene which we give *in extenso*; premising that the Prince's name is Brahmaketu, and that the name of the father of the hunchback was Suchandra:—

'She, the bride, was thunderstruck on hearing what the Prince said. Tears trickled down from her eyes, her heart palpitated, and with a soft voice she said,—“O most fortunate, you say you are the substitute of the son of Suchandra: how shall I know it? I know you are my husband, who have accepted my hand, and besides whom, O dear Prince, I know nobody to be my husband. You have married me before the fire: does it become you to leave me? Having been forsaken by you, I will neither wait on the hunchback, nor on any other person, though he were as beautiful as Kama.”

'Brahmaketu said,—“O most beautiful, I shall die to-morrow; I have been told so by the Muni; it cannot be otherwise; what will you do with me who am come to the end of my existence? Wait on that son of Suchandra who is to live for a length of time.” The Princess replied:—“O husband, if the Muni has told you that you must die, I will also die, for I am a woman who does not survive her husband. If there be any means of your being saved, tell me; I will contrive it, even at the expense of my life.”

'Brahmaketu said:—“O most elegant, that Muni has told me the means of preserving my life. I may be saved through the favour of Vaivaswata, whom I shall meet at Benares. O wife, I am going there; it admits of no delay. I have made a promise to Suchandra, tell me how can I break it.” The Princess observed:—“Go out of the room and tell the hunchback in conformity to your agreement to enter the bride-chamber; and when you are gone, I will drive the son of Suchandra away, affirming that I have married you. Messengers shall be sent after you by the order of my father, who will bring news of you every moment to me. If you expire, I will also die, and if you be saved, I also will live: I am doomed to die on the funeral pile.”

'Brahmaketu said:—“The Muni has told me that I shall positively die, but be restored to life by Vaivaswata. Be pacified, O bride, do not detain me, I am going: if I lose time, I shall not arrive at Benares.”

'Having said this to the Princess, the very famous Brahmaketu came out, and saw the hunchback, to whom he smil-

\* The translations here and elsewhere have been extracted from Wilson's unedited MSS. in the library of the Asiatic Society.

ingly said,—“Take the young wife, I am going to Benares.” After saying this he with great difficulty arrived at Benares. The son of Suchandra afterwards entered the bridal chamber, and his servant blew out the lamp. The Princess knowing that the deformed entered the room, and perceiving that the lamp was blown out, began to cry. The bridesmaids repaired to the room on hearing the loud noise, and enquired the cause of it. They perceived the room dark, which rendered them still more sorrowful. They lighted the lamp, and began to laugh on seeing the hunchback. The Princess on seeing him went out of the room crying, and related the whole account to her mother, who informed the king of all that Brahmaketu had said. Suchandra hearing what happened became ashamed, and returned home with his hunchbacked son, his forces, and dependants.’

Here the interest of the story ends, and it will be sufficient to say that the Tamul Prince died at Benares, but was restored to life, and accordingly returned to his lovely bride, and lived happily ever afterwards. We have omitted much which, however interesting to Hindoo readers, would awaken no sympathy in the heart of the European. Thus we have passed over the distress of Suchandra in the early part of the story at being unable to procure a fitting wife for his hunchbacked son; as well as the distress of Brahmaketu at thinking that he would die without having been even formally married; two concurring circumstances which led to the deception. But the natural description of all that occurred after the Princess had been made acquainted with the deception, is equal in force and far superior in truthfulness to any scene we can remember in any sensational novel of modern times.

Our second illustration refers to an old institution, which carries us back to the heroic times, when the Kshetriyas were great in the land, and not as yet subjected by the Brahmins.\*

\* Traces of this ancient Kshetriya custom are still to be found in old Greek tradition; and Herodotus relates a story current in his time which may be reproduced here, as showing the relationship of the Hellenes not to the Brahmins, but to the Kshetriyas. Once upon a time, Clisthenes, king of Sicyon, won the prize of the chariot race at the Olympic games, and then and there publicly declared his intention of giving the hand of his beautiful daughter Agarista to the best husband he could find for her in all Greece. Accordingly all candidates were invited to present themselves at Sicyon within sixty days; and Clisthenes pledges himself that at the end of one year, counting from the end of the sixty days, he would be prepared to name the man whom he had chosen for the husband of his daughter. A considerable number of young heroes, of all the best families in Greece, presented themselves at Sicyon at the appointed time, and were entertained right royally for a whole



This institution was known as the Swayambara, at which the daughters of Rajahs were permitted to choose their own husbands. Our space here will not permit us to explain the probable origin and general characteristics of the Swayambara, for the latter differed widely, and the entire subject would by itself require a separate dissertation. It will be sufficient to say that in the Markandeya Purana, there is a story of a young hero, handsome and wise, of great strength and exceeding valour. Very many daughters of Rajahs chose him for their husband at their respective Swayambaras; and if a Princess declined to throw the necklace round his neck, that being the sign by which she indicated her choice, he carried her off by force, and made her his wife *volentem volentem*. On one occasion a beautiful Princess declining to choose him for her husband, he attempted to carry her off as usual, but was pursued by the disappointed suitors. A desperate battle ensued, during which for a long time he fairly kept his enemies at bay, but at length they surrounded him, contrary to the Kshetriya laws of honour, and overcame him and took him prisoner. Meantime, and here is a beautiful touch of nature, the Princess had been looking on

twelvemonth. Clisthenes tried their physical powers in the Gymnasia, and their intellectual powers in the Banqueting Hall, and Herodotus significantly observes that the trials at the banquet table were the greatest of all. The greatest favourite was Hippocles, son of Tisander; and when the year was over, and the great day arrived, it was universally expected that Hippocles would be chosen. The festivities on that day commenced with the sacrifice of a hundred oxen, followed by a great banquet to all the suitors, and to all the people of Sicyon. After the feast the suitors vied with each other both in music, and in delivering extempore speeches on given subjects; and here again Hippocles distanced all competitors. Meantime hard drinking had set in, and Hippocles called on the flute player to strike up a dance, and commenced dancing to the tune, much apparently to his own satisfaction. Clisthenes however looked dubiously on, much in the same way as might have been expected from a Rajpoot chief under similar circumstances. But by this time Hippocles was excited beyond all reason. He mounted a table and danced first of all some Laconian figures, and then some Attic ones. Still Clisthenes looked on in silence, though well nigh bursting with rage. At length Hippocles stood upon his head, and tossed his legs about, and Clisthenes could contain himself no longer. 'Son of Tisander,' he cried, 'thou hast danced thy wife away!' 'What does Hippocles care?' retorted the sullen suitor. But Clisthenes commanded silence, and then addressed the whole assembly, giving his daughter to Megacles, the son of Alcmaeon, and presenting each of the other suitors with a silver talent to alleviate his disappointment. In after ages the union of Megacles and Alcmaeon became celebrated throughout Greece, for it was their son who founded the Athenian democracy, and from the same line sprang the famous Pericles, the greatest Athenian statesman, and perhaps the most brilliant democratic ruler that ever guided the destinies of a democratic empire. Compare *Herodotus*, lib. vi. c. 126, *et seq.*

the battle, and seeing her ravisher overcome by numbers, fell deeply in love with him; and when the battle was over, and she was desired by her father to choose a husband from amongst the conquerors, she declined on the plea that the day had been inauspicious. Subsequently the father of the defeated Prince raised an army and defeated the suitors, and procured his son's release from captivity. The father of the Princess now offered his daughter in marriage to the liberated Prince, but the latter, smarting from being defeated in her presence, refused to take her as his wife. Moreover, animated by those notions of honour which actuated the ancient Kshetriya and still actuate the modern Rajpoot chief, the young Prince declared that having been dishonoured by strangers he would neither marry her nor any other damsel, and that she had better choose a husband whose fame was without a stain. Here we extract the dialogue between the king, whose name was Visala, and his daughter:—

King Visala now observed to his daughter:—"O child, you have heard what this great Prince has said; choose therefore yourself another person for your husband, whom, O good girl, you may like, or let us give you to any one whom you may desire: O fine-faced, do either of these."

The girl answered:—"His defeat by many in my presence is not just: O king, his fame and strength are not in the least lessened by the battle. He is like a lion capable of destroying any who may oppose him. He has displayed his great heroism by abiding in the field; yes, he not only stood his ground, but repeatedly repulsed his numerous enemies, nor did he show any signs of fatigue. The kings have unfairly defeated him who is possessed of heroism and valour, and fought with a due observance of rules: what shame is there in it? I am not, O father, charmed by his beauty alone, but his heroism, strength, and fortitude have ravished my heart. To spare too many words, you should solicit him for my sake; no one else shall be my husband."

Visala then said to the young hero:—"O Prince, what my daughter has said is just. True there is no youth on the face of the earth equal to you. Your courage is unexampled, and your strength is exceedingly great. Do you purify my family by accepting my daughter in marriage."

The Prince replied:—"O king, I will not take or marry this, nor any other female."

Knowing that the Prince was fixed in his resolution, the very sorrowful Visala said to his daughter:—"O daughter, do you then give up your desire for him, and take another for your husband; there are many other Princes." The girl



‘ answered :—“ I will, O father, take this hero for my husband,  
 ‘ “ and should he refuse my request, I will devote myself to religi-  
 ‘ “ ous austerities, and none else be my husband in this life.” ’

The story now becomes Brahminised, but the following scraps are still interesting. The Princess goes into the woods, whilst the Prince leads a life of celibacy in his father’s palace. At length one day, whilst his father, the Rajah, was sitting at his ease, his ministers versed in the Sastras spoke to him as follows :—

‘ O king, you have passed the greater part of your life in the  
 ‘ government of your dominions ; you have but one son, who is  
 ‘ without issue. O king, when you die the earth will be enjoyed  
 ‘ by your enemies, your family be extinct, and your ancestors have  
 ‘ no funeral cakes and oblations. Do you therefore endeavour  
 ‘ to make your son contribute to the good of your forefathers.’

Under these circumstances the king requested his son to marry, and it so chanced that about this time whilst the Prince was hunting, he fell in with the Princess, who had been carried off by a Rakshasa. Of course he slew the Rakshasa, and thus having gained a victory in her presence, he married her in due course, and in the fulness of time presented a beautiful young grandson to the delighted old Rajah.

The exquisite knowledge of human nature which led the Hindoo bard to represent a young lady falling in love with the Prince who had attempted to carry her off, is perhaps unsurpassed even in English literature. The rare genius which enabled Thackeray to represent Rebecca Sharpe admiring her husband at the moment the big Guardsman was knocking down Lord Steyne, is scarcely superior in delicate appreciation of the female heart to that displayed by the unknown author of this ancient story. The young Princess sees the man whom she herself rejected, and who has carried her away contrary to her will, engaged in deadly conflict with enemies superior in number, but whom for a long time he successfully resists, until at last he is overcome by foul play and carried off a prisoner ; and this is the moment when the poet represents her as falling in love with the defeated warrior. Here her affection arises from no elective affinity, but from a number of widely different emotions all tending to one point ;—admiration of his bravery, his physical strength, his martial skill, combined with that chivalrous sympathy with a brave and gallant hero who has the odds against him, and who is moreover victimized by the foul play of his opponents, together with her knowledge of his passion for her as evidenced by the forcible abduction. Thus the heart of the girl sympathises with the warrior, until admiration and affection culminate in a deep and undying love.

Our next narrative culled from the Puranas, throws some light on the misery which a young spouse can produce in the family of a Rajah, who is already married to several worthy wives. The original story will be found in the Naradiya Purana, where it has been recklessly interpolated by the Brahminical author, though it must be admitted that some of the interpolations are as suggestive as the original legend. The outline of the story appears to be as follows:—Once upon a time a certain elderly Rajah left his kingdom in charge of his son, and proceeded on a hunting expedition in the neighbourhood of the Himalayahs. There he met with a beautiful nymph named Mohini, and straightway fell in love with her, and found no difficulty in inducing her to become his wife. Some opposition appears to have been anticipated from the Rajah's other wives, but this question was postponed, and the old Rajah and his young bride proceeded on horseback to the Rajah's city. The son came out to meet them, in accordance with the strict Hindoo notions of filial duty, and duly praised his young stepmother, and congratulated his father on such an acquisition. He then, whilst his father rested from the fatigues of the journey, entertained his new stepmother in his own house, gave her numerous presents, and even induced his own mother to wait upon her, in the following language, which is evidently an interpolation intended to enforce the duty of senior wives under such delicate circumstances:—

‘He (the son) afterwards spoke to his own mother in favour of Mohini, as follows:—“We ought to follow the directions of the king, and his commandments are of great weight to us. He who endeavours to injure the object of her husband's love suffers in hell for a period equal to the time of fourteen Indras; and if she contrives to alienate the affections of her husband from another beloved spouse, through the jealousy which is natural to sisters-in-law, she is condemned to the hell called Tanvraprashtha. A wife should always do what may fairly please her husband, and treat fairly her sister-in-law, whom he may be fond of; she ought to regard her equally with her husband, for by securing such a sister-in-law, even if she be a very mean creature, heaven is attained. By worshipping her who is the beloved wife of the husband, a woman can attain all enjoyments; and she that gives over envy and vanity, goes to the region of Vishnu. A wife who is devoted to the gratification of her husband's favourite consort, her sister-in-law, attains many regions of the virtuous.”’

The senior wife according to the story is convinced of her duty by these pious observations of her son, and consequently serves



up a delicious meal to Mohini. Shortly afterwards the old Rajah visits his young wife, and she prudently advises him to conciliate his other spouses ; but we give the words :—

‘ Mohini said :—“ Do you, O king, console your former  
 “ spouses who are all highly afflicted by your marrying me ;  
 “ because, O king of the earth, he that takes a new wife with-  
 “ out reconciling his old consorts to it, cannot attain heaven.  
 “ Besides, what felicity can I enjoy, if I be incessantly burnt  
 “ up as it were by the tears of my elder sisters ? ” ’

The son now undertakes to reconcile the other wives of his father, to the new marriage ; but the ladies reply in a flood of remonstrance which we cannot produce in all its fulness, but of which the following extract may serve as a specimen :—

‘ The mothers answered,—“ O son, who fosters his own de-  
 “ vourer ? Who sets fire to his own body ? Who poisons him-  
 “ self, and who cuts off his own head ? Who wishes to traverse  
 “ an ocean with a heavy piece of stone tied to his neck ? Who  
 “ faces an elephant, and who lays himself down on a sharp  
 “ sword ? What woman affords delight to her husband, when  
 “ she finds him delighting in the company of her sisters-in-law ?  
 “ Far better is it to a woman to have her head immediately  
 “ severed, when she sees her husband devoted to the society of  
 “ another wife. You know of all annoyances, the sight of the  
 “ husband attached to a young damsel, is the most rueful to a  
 “ woman. We, your mothers, will rather die, than see the king  
 “ our husband in company with Mohini.” ’

This language is of course foreign to modern ideas, but it is the natural expression of insulted wives, writhing under an agony which can be understood, but cannot be described. The son however proved himself to be equally energetic with his refractory mothers, and fully prepared to overcome all difficulties connected with their opposition. He threatened to put to death any one, even his own mother, who by word, action, or thought gave pain to his father, and then to poison himself afterwards. The women accordingly gave in, and promised compliance if the king would make them suitable presents, and quoted the following law on the subject :—‘ If a person takes a second wife, while his first consort is alive, he is to give his first wife twice the sum that may be expended on his new marriage, and having thus reconciled her to it, he may marry with her consent. The man who takes a new wife, without pleasing his old spouses, performs sacrifices in vain.’

The Prince agreed to give presents to each one, and it is amusing to observe the halo of Brahminical exaggeration which surrounds the original legend. We give the extract in fo

exaggeration and all, indicating what we believe to have been the original kernel of the description, before the Brahmins had set it round with oriental extravagance, by bracketing the words in Italics :—

‘The Prince was highly delighted at the words of his mothers, and gave to each of them the following things: one crore of Suvarna weight of gold; one thousand cities; as many villages; eight golden cars drawn by four horses each; ten thousand pieces of cloth, the value of which was more than ten thousand rupees each; one hundred servants, and the same number of maids; ten thousand cows, whose teats were as big as waterpots; one thousand bullocks of burden; ten different sorts of rice; ten thousand pots of ghee; as many pots of oil; innumerable goats and sheep; ornaments made of thousands of thousands of Suvarna weight of gold; fifteen bracelets studded with gems as large as the Amala fruits; a string of two hundred and fifty of those pearls which are found in the heads of elephants; [*a great quantity of saffron and sandal; several plates, drinking vessels, and pots of ghee, milk, and other beverages of various descriptions*] two thousand and four hundred cooking pots of gold, eight hundred golden pots, hundreds of hundreds of pieces of fine cloth, and seventeen well adorned vehicles.’

The various wives of the old Rajah were sufficiently mollified by these presents, and accordingly engaged not to interfere with an arrangement by which the old Rajah again relinquished the kingdom to the care of his son, and devoted himself entirely to the beautiful Mohini. But soon the progress of the story reaches a natural *dénouement*, which would have involved a moral lesson had it not been hopelessly hampered with Brahminical interpolations. The story had been originally aimed at the institution of polygamy; but the object of the Brahminical interpolator was to enforce the observances of certain fast days in the month of Kartika. Accordingly in the old ballad the narrative appears to have laid the chief stress upon the evil influence exercised by the young wife Mohini upon the old Rajah, until at last she inveigles him into a promise which he is reluctant to fulfil, and rather than fulfil is actually induced to cut off the head of his own son, this bloody alternative being demanded by the fiendish Mohini. The Brahmin interpolator represents this promise as having been a general one on the part of the Rajah to give to his young wife whatever she asked for, whereupon she requested him not to keep the appointed fast days in the month of Kartika; but he being a pious old Rajah refuses compliance, and insists upon fasting on the days in question, and in abstaining from any gratification. Thus the Kshetrya



legend turns on the evil of a polygamist marrying a young wife; whilst the Brahminical additions turn upon the importance of keeping certain fast days. The whole story is in the highest degree sensational, abounding in oriental exaggerations and descriptions, which are not only foreign, but downright repulsive to European ideas; but here and there are flashes of human nature and expressions of deep passion wonderful in their very reality and earnestness. Thus the old Rajah endeavours to coax Mohini to let him observe the Vrata, *i. e.*, to keep the three days fast, by making the most wonderful offers, and urging what he probably considered to be the most conclusive arguments, of which the following extract will serve as a specimen:—

‘The Rajah said:—“How shall I do that shameful act in my old age, which I was not guilty of in my infancy and youth?”  
 “Be propitious to me, O handsome girl, and do not interrupt my observance of the Vrata; I am ready to give up my kingdom to you instead of it, or if you do not like it I will do anything else to please you. I will have you conveyed to wherever you please, O beautiful girl, on a vehicle borne by my wives, and I myself will run before you; or if you please I will day and night swing you for several years on a well adorned cradle of seven lakhs of pearls as large as Amalaki fruits, supported on a frame made of gold or coral. Do not you, O my beloved damsel, prevent me from observing the Vrata. It is better to eat the flesh of a Chandala, that of a dog, nay that of one’s own body, than to take meals on the eleventh lunar day.”’

Mohini however was in a rage with the king for refusing to keep his promise of doing whatever she desired. ‘She was inflamed with anger, and her eyes were reddened.’ She threatened to leave the old Rajah, saying,—‘There is no king, even among the Mlechchhas, who would not do what he promises.’ At this juncture the Prince arrives, but finding that he cannot effect a reconciliation, sends for his own mother, the senior wife of the Rajah. Then comes the *denouement*. The senior wife offers to comply with any request that Mohini may please to make, provided only that she will permit the old Rajah to fast on the eleventh lunar day. Mohini thereupon demands the head of her son, the Prince who was ruling the kingdom of his father; and this demand, horribly unnatural as it must appear to English readers, is perfectly in accordance with Hindoo notions, inasmuch as the Hindoo reader would readily perceive that Mohini was envious that her older rival should have a son, whilst she herself could scarcely hope to bear children to such an elderly husband.

The remainder of the story is too long for extract. The grief and alarm of the mother are depicted at considerable length, when the son comes forward with a sense of filial duty amounting to heroism, and offers his own life rather than that his father should neglect the observance of the fast. The story actually ends with the scene of the old Rajah cutting off the head of his son.

A somewhat similar plot is to be found in another ancient legend, which is narrated at great length in the Padma Purana. According to this story, which is evidently very ancient, Brahma prepared to celebrate a great sacrifice or Yajna, at which according to Vedic ideas the wife ought to be present, or at any rate ought to be present at one particular moment, or the sacrifice would be rendered of no effect. A large area was prepared, the Brahmins filled the heavens with recitations of the Vedas, the Kshetriyas guarded the sacrifice with their weapons, the Vaisiyas prepared the provisions and drinks, whilst the Sudras served all the others. At the critical moment however Savitri the wife of Brahma, delayed her coming, on the plea that she was waiting for the wives of the other gods; and in this sudden emergency a beautiful girl, the daughter of a cowman, was found, and married to Brahma forthwith, in order that she might take the part of his wife at the great sacrifice. Meantime Savitri and the wives and daughters of the gods, having at last dressed themselves in their most attractive attire, proceeded in procession to the sacrifice, carrying baskets of fruits, sweatmeats, cakes, and every thing that is nice and agreeable. On entering the Sabha, the lotus-eyed Savitri saw the young lady dressed in silk acting the part of chief wife to Brahma. Brahma hung down his head, and Savitri saw in a moment what had taken place. But we may now bring forward a few extracts:—

‘The fine faced Savitri then fell into a passion, and thus addressed Brahma who was sitting silent in the Sabha:—  
“O Deva, what could induce you to do this thing? You have committed a crime by leaving me and taking another wife.  
“The daughter of the cowman is the meanest of the mean, she is not equal to me. People say that a worthy woman is suitable to a worthy man. You have done a blamable act  
“owing to the desire for the possession of a beauty. You are the grandfather of the gods, and the great grandfather of the Rishis:—consider your old age; are you not ashamed to take a wife? You have excited the laughter of superior persons, and have also dishonoured me. If you continue thus  
“Deva, stay here, I salute you. How shall I show my face to



“ my female friends, or tell them that my husband has married  
 “ another wife?”

Here Brahma endeavours to excuse himself by pleading the necessity for a wife arising out of the festival, and tries also to throw the blame upon Indra who brought the girl, and upon Vishnu who married him to her; and then winds up with the following compliments and vows:—

‘ O thou who possessest fine eyebrows, forgive what I have done. O most virtuous, I will never commit such a crime again.  
 ‘ O Devi, pardon me who have thrown myself at your feet.’

Savitri however was not to be so appeased. She cursed Brahma and the cow girl, Indra and Vishnu, and all the gods and goddesses then and there assembled, in the most natural and emphatic manner, and then retired and went away to another country; but here the original story melts away into an overgrowth of Brahminical superstition from which it is impossible to recover the conclusion of the legend.

The foregoing story is chiefly remarkable as being of the Homeric type. The gods and goddesses are mere men and women, neither good nor bad, but acting as we may suppose ordinary mortals to have acted in patriarchal times. The so-called sacrifice was little more than a great feast or entertainment, in which the various divinities were supposed to take their share; and the only difficulty in the Puranic legend is to discover who and what were the divine beings to whom Brahma and the others offered sacrifice. But in the present article we studiously avoid religious discussion, which must necessarily travel over far too wide a field for a Reviewer; and accordingly we reserve all such topics for a future opportunity, as especially requiring to be treated exhaustively.

The basis of all civilisation is to be found in the relations of the sexes, and having brought forward such individual cases as serve to illustrate ancient manners, we may now produce certain extracts which lay down general rules for the duty and conduct of women, and which serve to illustrate other phases in the ancient social life of the Hindoos. The previous stories, with the exception of that of the old Rajah and his young wife, seem to indicate that husband and wife met generally on terms of equality; although in the exceptional case quoted it is evident that polygamy was already exercising a slavish and debasing influence upon the weaker sex. We shall now produce two sets of extracts, the one from perhaps the most ancient Purana, and the other from perhaps the most modern Purana. The *Agni Purana*, which carries with it the greatest air of antiquity serves to illustrate the ideas prevailing amongst the Kshetriyas, or soldiers

caste, at the time when that caste predominated over the whole population, and polygamy was common. The Brahmana Vaivarta Purana, which is chiefly devoted to enforcing the more modern worship of Krishna, shows how the condition of women became still more slavish and debased under a licentious and besotted priesthood during the period when the Brahmins held the masses in their thrall.

The Agni Purana simply furnishes rules by which Rajahs should manage their zenana or inner apartments. We give the passage entire, with only such curtailments as were necessary to fit it for the eyes of European readers :—

‘ I shall now, said Pushkara, tell you the management of the inner apartments where the female part of the family dwell. Mutual care is required in this management ; the queen and king should reciprocally be regardful of each other. Triverga (the triple object of human life) is a large tree, its root is virtue, its trunk wealth, and its fruit pleasure ; by cherishing it in the inner apartments its fruit will be put forth. Women are fond of pleasure, therefore precious stones should be collected for their use. A prince who studies his own pleasure should enjoy with moderation the society of his wives. Agreeable wives are to be treated with attention and tenderness. A wife who is ill behaved, regardless of the words of her husband, attached to his enemies, rude and arrogant, rubs her face the instant that she is kissed, is not thankful for anything given her, sleeps earlier and gets up later than her husband, shrinks at his touch, turns away from him, and pays little attention even if he were to relate anything interesting, turns away from his friend, is indifferent to other women of whom her husband may be enamoured, and does not put on her dress and jewels in due time, is devoid of affection. The husband therefore may abandon her, and devote his affections to an affectionate wife, who is known by being sincerely pleased instantly at the sight of her husband, and by glancing at him. Being looked at by her husband, she keeps her eyes wandering over a variety of objects, but is not able to turn them full in his face. When she sees her husband, although she be in her earliest youth, she will embrace and kiss him ; she is ready to answer him ; she asks for things that are easy to be obtained, and is quite satisfied even with trifles. She is instantly pleased at the very mention of his name, and is thankful for it. She makes present of various fruits to her husband, and kindly accepting those made by him, holds them to her breast. Thus should a prince manage his women, in whom he ought not to place any trust, and particularly in such as become the mothers of children.’



The passages in the Brahmana Vaivarta Purana, are still more melancholy, for they exhibit in the strongest light the cold-hearted selfishness of that later race of Brahmins, who reduced the condition of the wife into that of a slave, and actually compelled her to worship her husband as a divine being; and who to gratify a sentiment utterly false and hollow would induce the unfortunate widow to become suttee, or condemn her to a life of such misery as in later years would often lead her to regret that she had not burnt herself with her husband on the funeral pile. The following is the detail given in this later Purana of the duties of a virtuous wife:—

‘Instead of performing Vratas and austerities, and worshipping the gods, a chaste woman should serve the feet of her husband and gratify him. A virtuous woman shall not do anything without the sanction of her husband. She shall take only such food as is used by him, and never leave his company. She shall never return him an answer, nor be angry with him. She shall first feed her husband, and then present him betel. She must not wake him when he is asleep, and shall love him a hundred times more than her son. To a woman her husband is her friend, lord, and prosperity; and she shall always look at him with a smiling countenance, with respect, and in a pleasing manner. Such a woman delivers one hundred of her generations. The husband of such a woman is disentangled from all his sins by the influence of his wife’s virtues. All the holy places that are in the world lie on the feet of a virtuous woman. The brilliancy of all the gods and Munis reside in her; and she acquires all the fruition which the devotees, the austere, and the charitable, obtain by their penances, observances, and gifts. Vishnu, Siva, and even Brahma the creator always fear her. By the dust of a suttee’s feet the earth is instantly purified; and by saluting such a woman, a person is delivered from all his sins. A virtuous woman can in an instant reduce the three regions to ashes by her influence. The husband and sons of a suttee are ever secure; they have nothing to dread even from the gods and Yama.

‘A virtuous woman should after rising in the morning, faithfully and delightedly salute and pray unto her husband. She shall then transact all domestic affairs, and having bathed shall worship her husband with white flowers. She should give him fine clothes to wear, and wash his feet with respect. She should make him sit on a seat, anoint him with sandal paste, put wreaths of flowers round his neck, and having worshipped him with nicely cooked food, and with the formulas revealed in the Sama Veda, salute him with reverence. She shall present

‘ him flowers, sandal paste, water for washing, a lamp, a dhupa, clothes, eatables, finely scented water, well formed betel, and then read prayers to him as follows :—

“ Salutation to thee, my husband, who art identical with Siva and with the moon. Salutation to thee who art identical with Brahma, who art dearer than the soul to a virtuous woman, and identical with the pupils of her eyes, and the source of knowledge. The husband is identical with Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. Thee husband, who art the soul with Brahma, I salute. O lord, forgive all the faults that I have committed knowingly and unknowingly. O friend of thy wife, O ocean of kindness, pardon the faults of thy maid.”

Such is the way in which religion has been employed by the later Brahmin to reduce their wives to the condition of slaves, and any one who regards the existing state of a large class of the Hindoos, may feel that nature has avenged the sins of the fathers upon the children. The sons of such mothers have been born with slavish hearts and slavish intellects, and unless the natives at large emancipate their females from the trammels of such ignorance and superstition, their children will continue to be little better than slaves down to the end of time. But the following extract, referring to the duties and deprivations of Hindu widows, can scarcely be read without indignation as well as pity :—

‘ A widowed female of the Brahmin caste, must always be free from the passion of love. She shall take one meal in a day in the evening. She must not wear fine clothes, nor anoint her body with perfumes and fine scented oils. She shall not put on wreaths of flowers, sandal paste, nor dots of vermillion. She shall meditate upon Vishnu every day. It is her duty to consider all men as sons. She must not eat luxurious food, nor live in grandeur. She must not take betel, nor sleep on a couch, nor ride on a vehicle. She must not put unguents to her hair, nor braid her hair. She must not anoint herself, nor look into a looking glass, nor see the face of strange men. She must not be present at a dance or festival, nor look at dancers, singers, and beautiful and well-adorned men. She shall always be told of her duties, which are communicated in the Sama Veda.’

Such was and is the hapless condition of many a poor Hindoo widow ; perchance some girl of tender years, whose husband has died in boyhood, and who is thus doomed not merely to a life of joyless celibacy, but to a life of hopeless misery and degradation, and sometimes half maddened by gazing on happiness which she may never share. But the influence of the Brahmin is



declining, and let us hope that the day is not far distant when the Hindoo female may regain her position and rights, and, no longer cabined and enslaved, may bring forth a nobler race of sons.

We have thus dipped into the Puranas for the purpose of enquiring how far they would add to our knowledge of human nature, but we would fain hope that we have corrected some popular errors, as regards the true value and character of their subject matter. General Cunningham, to whom we wish to refer with every respect for his learning and enthusiasm, has put forward an opinion in the preface to his valuable work on the Bhilsa Topes, that a report on all the Buddhist remains in India would prove of more value for the ancient history of India, than the most critical and elaborate edition of the eighteen Puranas. We admit the value of the Buddhist remains, but we deny General Cunningham's conclusion as regards their relative value to the Puranas. There is a tendency in the present day to neglect the history of Hindooism, and to devote an undue attention to Buddhism; but the fact is that both are essential towards acquiring a true knowledge of the history of India. The student in European history must be at least as well acquainted with Roman Catholicism as with the Reformation, and to neglect the one and place an undue stress upon the other is calculated to warp the judgment. If the Buddhist remains only threw a light upon the history of dynasties, or the names and dates of departed kings, they would prove of little more value than the chronicles of Manetho, or the list of the victorious runners in the Olympic games. But so far as they throw a light upon Buddhist civilisation, or on modes of thought, or forms of faith, so far they are invested with a real value, in which however they are by no means superior to the sacred books of the Hindoos, a conclusion which we trust may safely be inferred from the foregoing dippings in the Puranas.

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- ART. X.—1. *Gazette of India Extraordinary, January 30th, 1864.*  
 2. *Letters to Heloise, Delhi Gazette.*  
 3. *Unpublished Notes, Letters, &c., of Officers of the Force, &c., &c.*

IT has been justly remarked that India is to the English army what Algeria is to the French, a nursery and training ground for its soldiers. A further comparison between the two countries shows striking resemblances between the state of their respective frontiers, and the border tribes with whom the troops are frequently brought in contact. We find the outposts of both subjected to perpetual alerts by thievish and fanatic Mussulman tribes, whose raids are made conveniently to unite the meritorious slaughter of the Infidel with the appropriation of his worldly goods; whilst the old bitter Moslem hatred of the Christian nerves their arms, and sharpens their swords against him as it has ever done since Cœur de Lion, and will do till the drying up of the great river Euphrates. And in both the Arab of the Sahara and the Pathan of the Peshawur frontier, we find a foe worthy of European steel. Both Powers have been at short intervals compelled to cross their own border and attempt the chastisement of the daring and warlike foe on his own ground, and both have done this with varying success.

But whilst accounts of many of the French expeditions have been carefully written for the use of their army, which has not failed to profit largely by these recorded experiences, the same care has not been taken by us. Our neighbours owe to Algeria the invention and adoption of the Minié Rifle, their *Corps d'élite* of Zouaves and Chasseurs à pied, with the *tente Tabri* and many useful modifications of both equipment and drill which have gradually pervaded their entire army to its no small advantage. We on the other hand have preserved, but scanty records of our proceedings and hitherto suffered what knowledge has been acquired to be confined to the small local forces engaged; and perhaps the only results of our many Hill expeditions to which we can point as worthy of remark are,—a mountain train of artillery all but perfect in *personnel* and organization, which we yet furnish with inferior materiel, and a succession of brilliant soldiers and Politicals whose names



are in all mouths, but whose experience dies with them. The names of men like Neville Chamberlain, Hugh James, Reynel Taylor, Coke, Wilde, Green, Probyn, Keyes, and Brownlow, carry with them high prestige amongst the mountain men of the far North-West—due not merely to their personal reputation as daring soldiers and skilful leaders or diplomatists, but also to the possession of a class of knowledge which is not extended to the rest of our services.

Were we to select at hazard almost any French Officer of standing and fair ability for active service in Algeria, he would assuredly make no gross mistake in Arab strategy, and probably would achieve success, but we believe we could reckon on our fingers, and those not all told, the superior officers of the British army to whom it would be less than madness to entrust the conduct of a Hill expedition. And the same is true of the younger members of the Service, who when brought for the first time face to face with our frontier tribes, whose mode of fighting and simple tactics they have taken no pains to study, are apt to discover that mere average drill book, though backed by more than average courage, by no means at all times secures anything like average success.

We have lately witnessed the conclusion of one of these border wars, and have not a day's security against the necessity for another appeal to arms. Whilst many of its more remarkable incidents have already appeared in print, so far as we know, no attempt has been made to notice such points as are of direct professional interest to the soldier. In this aspect, then we propose to review the late military operations at Umbeyla. We have been favoured by an officer who took part in the campaign with unpublished notes and letters from which he permits us to make occasional extracts, and have further access to such sources of information as will, we trust, enable us to give a clear and impartial survey of the whole.

With the wide political considerations which rendered the war doubly necessary and gave to it a significance, which could have attached under few other circumstances to the active employment of some 5,000 men, we have little to do. While the late prosecution of the Umballah Conspirators has exposed to the public but a tithe of what is well known to the Government, it yet requires no keen penetration to follow the clue thus afforded us, and, given our knowledge of the past, to more than guess at the embarrassing combinations which a successful blow at the Sittana Settlement would dissolve or repress.

The history of the formation and earlier fortunes of the Sittana, or Hindostanee colony as it is also called, may

be found in Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, and, though sufficiently remarkable, but little concerns us; it is enough to state that it consisted at this time of from 1,500 to 2,000 fighting men maintained by and recruited from the fanatic Mussulman element of India, notoriously to be a thorn in our side, and that it so far fulfilled this object as to render its extinction or dispersion necessary. From the slight amount of pressure which it was possible to maintain upon it at all times, its actual movements had long been a species of index to the secret and fluctuating policy of the party within our own territory, whose opinions it represented, and had it been possible to control the influence it exerted to our disadvantage amongst its turbulent co-religionists beyond our border, or to prevent it from forming a *nucleus* for the disaffected among our own subjects, conveying, as it did, to all minds an impression that from a short distance we might be bearded with impunity, it might have well been suffered to exist as a useful political barometer; as matters stood, however it occupied much the same position as the active individual in a crowd, who suggests the breaking of one's windows, the ducking of one's self, or the plunder of the baker's shop, and who whilst able to throw but one stone himself, and perhaps altogether disappointed as to his share of the spoil, yet plays a part which claims for him the more especial attentions of a vigilant police. In 1858 Sir Sidney Cotton had driven the colony from Sittana on the Indus, over the Mahabun mountain, where they had then established themselves at Mulkah, a stronghold situated on one of its western spurs, and he had bound the neighbouring tribes by treaty to forbid their return.

The ostensible *casus belli* in the present instance was the re-occupation of Sittana by them, in face of these tribes (who professed themselves unable, but who were known also to be unwilling, to abide by their engagements) and their interference with the Chief of Umb, an insignificant village and district beyond our frontier, but actually under our protection. The fact was that the political barometer, which had long stood low, was steadily sinking to change and beyond it, as shown by the activity and insolent demeanour of these tribes, and it was necessary to deal a blow at the unseen disaffection indicated, by crushing at once its active manifestation. India therefore generally, seeing but the little cloud like a man's hand, talked of a military promenade through the hills, a species of picnic *re-union* of horse, foot, and guns, in the unknown trans-Indus country, which would set all straight with no further trouble than that involved in a few hill marches through a beautiful country and



almost English climate. The old Frontier men however looked grave—they knew that the cloud was not without its burden of storm and trouble, and whilst hoping it might yet pass over, they prepared themselves for that, of which the wisest could not foresee the extent. Many indeed of those who understood the matter in its wider sense objected *in toto* to the expedition, whilst it is certain that Neville Chamberlain himself, daring soldier as he is, desired, if he must go, to commence operations with a far larger European force than that entrusted to his command.

No one amongst them all, we believe, predicted anything approaching to the proportions the affair assumed in the limited space to which the operations were confined, nor imagined that this military promenade could have eventually been opposed by 60,000 fighting men in arms, either to its immediate front or within a few hour's march of the position—and yet we now know that this was the case towards the middle of December.

Some account of the country and its inhabitants, together with the relations in which the latter stood to the Hindostanees, becomes necessary to a comprehension of this, and we shall proceed to give both as briefly as possible.

A glance at any good map of the districts lying north and north-east of Peshawur, shows a tract of country, which, broken up into innumerable more or less isolated valleys by long mountain ranges—the outworks of the Hindoo Koosh and the great chain of the Himalayah—extends north of the Indus and Caubul rivers from the range of the Black Mountain to the borders of Kafiristan; these valleys from the homes of many independent Pathan tribes or clans, which are again sub-divided into the followings of numerous petty chiefs, responsible to no one sovereign head, not difficult to unite temporarily for the attainment of any great object, but regarding each other with much suspicion, and ready to sacrifice at any moment the public good to private animosity, cupidity, or ambition; whilst the followers who rally to their respective standards immediately disperse on the death of their leader, and will receive their orders from no one but his legitimate successors.

Chief amongst these tribes are the Eusofzaies and Juddoons dwelling near enough to the British frontier to appreciate the wisdom of maintaining or seeming to maintain friendly relations with us: the Khoodoo Khell dwellers in the Mahabun; the powerful Boneyr, Swât, Bajour tribes, and the Mullazaies of Dheer, followers of the turbulent Guzzun Khan, who, more united than their neighbours, have for years tyrannized over them, and by fighting when it answered to do so, and blustering where it did not, have enabled him to exercise an influence which their

numbers alone could not have procured for him. Besides these great tribes are many others whose names are scarcely known to any of us but our old frontier leaders. These, once in a while, enlist a wandering descendant of the lost tribes who defines as his home some distant valley towards which he points, and which is perhaps thus heard of for the first time. Although springing in all probability from a common stock (the Eusofzaie ?) as proved by the similarities of appearance, language, and customs, existing amongst them, and professing a common religion; yet, as in the case of single tribes which are but an aggregation of loosely cohering elements, few and feeble ties exist to bind the tribes the one to the other, and the formation or dissolution of any great combination between them is found to follow much the same rules as would apply to the action of the petty chiefs of any one of their number. The one bond of union deserving the name common to all, is the religious headship claimed by, and more or less conceded to, the Akhoond of Swat, whose position here is compared by General Chamberlain to that held by the Pope in relation to Catholic countries; and this would be strengthened in case of war with an European power, by the devout hatred of the Christians common to all good Mussulmans.

Some of these men had felt, once or more than once, the heavy hand of the British power, and like all savages respected it accordingly; while with many others we had never been brought in contact at all whether for good or for evil. Near the S. E. corner of this country lying between the Mahabun mountain and the Boneyr Hills and Borundoo river is the Chumla valley, which, much as were our own border marches, has been long a bone of contention and a battle ground for the tribes immediately surrounding it,—a sandy but not unfertile plain, of doubtful ownership, into which the several claimants were unwilling to push their own border, contenting themselves with plundering the cultivators (generally men from the Eusofzaie) in turn, and occasionally disputing the right of passage with the foraging parties of their neighbours.

The Sittana colony seated at Mulkah on the southern border of the Chumla valley, and in the midst of these tribes, yet held no special friendship with any, if perhaps we except the Juddoons, who were formidable neither from their numbers nor courage. Moolvie Abdoola Khan, the chief of the colony, was not on the best of terms with the Akhoond, with whom he differed on religious subjects in degree much as do the Greek and Latin churches, and whose Papacy therefore he had set at naught. The Akhoond had stood our friend during the great mutiny;



a word from him would at that time have stopped the enlistment of the Pathan hordes whom Sir John Lawrence poured down upon Delhi, and his hostile attitude have probably excited an outbreak in the Punjaub. Other chiefs made friendly professions; so that at first sight it seemed possible that they might now silently acquiesce in the punishment of the Hindostanees, did we refrain from any movement which should excite their fears for the integrity of their own territory, regarding the violation of which they are universally and extraordinarily jealous.

This peculiarity was so well known however to the wise amongst our Frontier men, who were besides aware of many changes of sentiment towards us amongst the tribes—as well as the state of excitement to which the lower classes of them had been brought for some time past by the preaching of fanatic Moolahs, emissaries of the Hindostanee colony, that they felt that no calculations founded on these probabilities or professions, were we once to cross the border, were much to be depended on. Their experience had taught them that, from the habitually unprepared state of the men of these hills, any very rapid and unexpected movement is liable to be attended with more complete and permanent success than could be anticipated from such tactics when dealing with a European power. Under these circumstances it remained to draw up such a plan of operations as would ensure us a satisfactory reckoning with the Hindostanee colony, reduce to a minimum the offence given to, or jealousy excited in the tribes, and by the rapidity of its execution forestall the formation of any very extended combination amongst them.

Sir Sidney Cotton had in 1858 attacked, and after an insignificant resistance captured and burned the Sittana settlement—but the Hindostanees themselves had been too nimble for him, and, as his force approached from the direction of the Indus, had escaped with trifling punishment into the fastnesses of the Mahabun. To have followed them on this line of retreat, had it been possible to do so, would have been to lead the force further and further through the territories of the tribes whom it was undesirable to provoke. A rapid reconnaissance had been made by the General himself accompanied by a few cavalry through the Durrin pass to Chinglai and Mulkatana in the Mahabun, which had the effect of turning out the fighting men of both the Khodookehl and Juddoon tribes, whose threatening attitude compelled his hasty retirement. To attempt then to force a passage over the Mahabun to Mulkah from the direction of the Indus—had such a route been possible, would have fallen short of its object, would have given time for the escape of the colony—and could have at best resulted in the destruction of t

town itself. But were it possible to place ourselves between them and the more powerful tribes without offence to the latter, they might then be attacked on the Mahabun, and in spite of the Khoodokehl and Juddoons exterminated there, or forced across the Indus in face of troops echeloned on the opposite bank for their reception.

Now a reference to the map will show that the quasi-neutral valley of the Chumla apparently offered every facility for a design of this nature—the occupation of this from its doubtful ownership would naturally give less umbrage than the invasion of territory exclusively the property of any particular tribe. It was tolerably level throughout its length and well adapted for the rapid motion of a considerable force, and its possession together with that of the Eusofzaie frontier, and the line of the Indus would confine the work in hand to comparatively narrow limits. The one difficulty was the belt of mountainous and broken country, which commencing at the range of the Goroo mountain, extends southwards till it unites with the S. W. spurs of the Mahabun. Furthermore the Hussanzaies of the Black Mountain had been for years employed in earning chastisement at our hands, and to cross the Indus at the debouchure of the Borundoo river, and assail them on their own ground with the prestige of a successful movement of this nature attaching to our arms, would be a fitting conclusion to the programme.

A force thus having its base of operations in the friendly Eusofzaie territory and moving on the head of the Chumla valley, would fulfil both objects, with the least expenditure of time and with no necessity for its being weakened by the detachment of troops to intercept the escape of the colony. Moreover if permitted to enter the valley peaceably at its upper end, every hour's march would place it further and further from the more formidable of the tribes and decrease the probabilities of any active interference on their part.

This then was much what was proposed to be done. Since June 1863, small bodies of troops had lain at the passages of the Indus and closed the way against all such as hearing of the assembly of the Field force, desired either to cast in their lot with the colony or desert the cause whilst there was yet time. A Force was now assembled consisting of two European Regiments, the 71st and 101st, the corps of guides and some Regiments of the frontier force and regular native infantry with guns and a small proportion of cavalry, at Nowakilla in the Eusofzaie; of this General Chamberlain assumed the command on the 17th of October.



We have above given the general outlines of the work to be performed, and the reasons which gave the just preference to the route of the Chumla valley. We will now proceed to see how this was to be reached, and the various considerations bearing upon the methods of reaching it.

In attempting the passage of a mountain barrier such as that which divided the Chumla valley from the Eusofzaie, a General usually confines himself to the lines marked out for him by the watershed of the country. One or more natural passes usually exist within a reasonable distance of the line he proposes taking, and after weighing the considerations in favour of or against these he selects the one which he thinks best suited to his purpose. One or more of these will perhaps penetrate the range from valley to valley at but a slight elevation above the water level, and present the fewest physical difficulties to be overcome; it not unfrequently however happens that a small valley of no great length will give access to high table land which it serves to drain, and which, from the command thus obtained, would be the route to be selected, should he expect to find his passage opposed by an enemy. In the present instance three routes at least existed by which the valley of the Chumla might be reached,—the Durrun and Umbeyla Passes more or less of the former description, and that of Kanpoor to which the latter applies. The two former were known to the General, the existence of the latter was not discovered until afterwards, and to one of these therefore we will grant his choice of route to have been confined. The Durrun Pass, which we have seen had been partially explored by Sir Sidney Cotton in 1858 after entering the hills opposite Nowakilla, led almost directly on Chinglai—near which place it branched into two parts, the one leading to Mulkatanah in the heart of the Mahabun, the other to Kogah near the head of the Chumla valley. The Panj Durra, or Umbeyla Pass, having its entrance at Surkhowa, sixteen miles further to the North-East, gives access to the valley higher up opposite to the village of Umbeyla, from which it derives its name, and debouches on the low grounds on which the village stands at right angles to the Boneyr Pass, the key of that country, which here crosses the easternmost spur of the Goroo mountain. The two roads intersect a little above the village, and the Umbeyla Pass was therefore the natural road between the Eusofzaie and the Boneyr and neighbouring districts.

Such were the known difficulties of the Durrun Pass that it was certain that no force accompanied by Artillery and baggage could hope to reach a point beyond Mulkatanah on the one hand,

or entirely clear the hills on the other, in the first day's march after leaving Nowakilla. As it had already been chosen as the route for the force under Sir S. Cotton, the attention of the tribes was naturally directed to it, and it was reported to have been stockaded within a short distance of the plain, and held by a small party of the enemy. But the men engaged in its defence were those with whom it had been all along probable that our attack on the Hindostanees would bring us in contact; did we not meet them in the Durrun, we should assuredly do so further on our road to Mulkah, and even should the Hindostanees themselves leave their settlement to assist in the defence of its outwork, their repulse would be in the direction of the point to which it would be most desirable they should be driven.

The Umbeyla Pass was reported to be of a more level and open character, and we were led to believe that by the adoption of that route it would be easy to reach Kogah by a forced march on the evening of the first day, whilst a second would carry the force to Mulkah itself, and ten days at furthest see the column at Cherorai or Dherbund on the Indus *re confectâ*. Against this, set the fact that the Umbeyla Pass was claimed as their own by the Boneyrwai, a powerful, jealous, and warlike people, the best swordsmen of the frontier, who neither knew nor feared us—and that these by their influence and numbers were capable, if provoked, of giving to the affair a far more formidable aspect than could the hostility of the Khoodookehl and Juddoons. Their country marched with those of Swât and Bajour—and such ties of friendship as they had were rather with these, the more powerful tribes, than with the less warlike men of the South-East. Thus then whilst the Umbeyla Pass was more practicable physically than the Durrun, its use involved the possibility of a grave danger, which would only disappear could the Boneyrwai be thoroughly satisfied as to our intentions towards themselves, and induced by payment or treaty to sanction what they would consider the violation of a portion of their territory. Their open hostility could not fail to be of most serious import to the success of an expedition which should desire to make a mountain pass through their territory, however level and open, a means of communication with a base placed beyond it.

Although the maps of the district had long pushed the red line nearly to the foot of the Goroo itself, yet it was notorious that the frontier so marked had never been trodden by an English foot; that the subjects residing in the territory geographically appropriated were subjects neither by treaty nor by conquest, neither paid tribute nor acknowledged allegiance, and would resist to the death the occupation of a foot of the



lands included. While then the casual observer noting on the map the proposed line of march by the Umbeyla would be apt to imagine that there could be no possible objection to the march of a British column through British territory or the selection of any route it might prefer, a slight acquaintance with the actual state of the frontier would show him the contrary, and convince him of the unfounded nature of any rights which might be assumed by us on the mere authority of the maps; and thus though both passes were nominally on British ground, the considerations regarding them were such as would apply to the choice of routes lying through hostile states, in which their respective powers of resistance must receive due weight as well as those of their natural or probable allies.

The physical characteristics of the Umbeyla Pass were supposed, as we have shown, to be the most favourable, whilst other considerations must have pointed strongly to the Durrun. The Force placed at Nowakilla was distant from the mouth of the former about sixteen miles, from the latter six and a half. To have encamped at a spot more equally placed between them would have been to prepare resistance at both. Again, to surprise the Umbeyla Pass, and entering the Chumla valley by that route, burst suddenly upon the flank and rear of the Hindostanees whilst their attention was directed elsewhere, was undoubtedly a more taking plan to a soldier than one which should involve the slow and tedious forcing of the Durrun *en face*. But to the success of such a manœuvre much nice calculation of time and distance is necessary and in the best concerted plan of the kind, not only must the information regarding the country to be passed be of reliability—but it must be possible further to draw largely on the capabilities of the troops in order to compensate for unforeseen resistance or delay.

The maps of this district being far from trustworthy, it was then necessary to place faith in such information as could be derived from the inhabitants of the country. But with all this the Umbeyla Pass was resolved on.

In order that the tribes might be confirmed in their previous impressions as to the route to be adopted by the force, and the surprise be complete, General Chamberlain now despatched Major Keyes with a small column to the mouth of the Durrun Pass, where he encamped and gave time for such of the Hill men as were in arms to assemble on the hills to his front, continue working on their stockade or *sunga*, and transmit intelligence of his supposed intentions to their friends at a distance. He then on the night of the 19th of October suddenly broke up his camp at Nowakilla and moved rapidly in two columns on Roostam.

bazar, where he halted at daylight on the 20th for an hour, to refresh before passing the hills. The force under Major Keyes having effected its object, skirting the base of the range, joined the advanced column under Brigadier Wilde near Surkhowa, and entered the defile at once to clear the way for the main body; the latter commanded by Colonel Hope, c. b. of H. M. 7<sup>th</sup> followed, at a short interval.

We extract from the journal intrusted to us an account of this march, which seems to have been well planned, and the story of which may not be without its interest:—

'October 18th, Nowakilla.—Watching the tents of Keyes' force at the mouth of the Durrun,—rumours in camp that the enemy are in his neighbourhood and a forward movement imminent. Many speculations as to our intentions,—he is evidently too weak to attempt the pass alone, and unless as a blind it is difficult to see the reasons of placing him there now if that is to be our route.

'October 21st, Umbeyla Pass.—So the great question is solved at last, and here we are getting over, as best we may, the fatigues of yesterday's march, a long twenty-five miles to judge from our sensations, and more fatiguing than forty over good ground; a night march is always an uncertain and trying thing, but good management reduced our troubles to a minimum. First of course there was the usual delay in getting clear of the camp and into the road;—the groaning of camels, the bad language of men who, breaking their shins over tent pins rubbed them down, and cursed at intervals, then the delay of the fall-in, and then the waiting for guides. The latter are always troublesome, and unless kept in limbo until wanted, they are generally discovered at last, if lazy, smoking in some quiet corner, or if zealous explaining the route to the Mahout of a baggage elephant or an apothecary on a bāt pony. After a long delay, ours were found, in which position we did not care to discover, and as they went to the front received the blessings of the entire force.

'Then the advance sounded, Field officers mounted, the British subaltern threw away his cheroot and fell in, and the long column was off, steering to the NNE. through a dark and cloudless night, and feeling its way at the rate of some two and three quarter miles an hour. The night was cold, and the wind from the hills bitter and piercing. The road, a village track at best, gradually became merged in fields and cultivation. But presently at half a mile distance we saw a bright light like a star flash out, and gradually grow larger and brighter, and on this the march was directed. As we advanced a second and a third appeared at regular distances. The first soon resolved itself



‘into a blazing fire of dry thorns, sheltered by a mat screen  
‘from the wind, and the view of the hills. Round it were  
‘seated some four or five wild gipsy looking men. These  
‘rose as we came up, and shaking back their long hair gazed  
‘in undisguised wonder at the great moving cloud of dust,  
‘out of which flashed into their circle of light, now the long  
‘teams and bright appointments of the heavy field battery,  
‘now the red coats and white helmets of the British line, the  
‘Khaki uniforms of the Frontier force, or the blue turbans and  
‘glittering lance points of Probyn’s horse. Then as the last  
‘of the column passed they turned and dashed out the fire, whilst  
‘another and another springing up beyond, defined the distant  
‘road and guided the force from light to light till the morning.  
‘Here and there a deep sandy nullah intervened, when strong  
‘working parties of Europeans with drag ropes ran the guns down  
‘and up the steep banks and kept all going. At last came the  
‘chill wind that always precedes the first streak of day so well  
‘known to every one who has marched by night in India, then a  
‘greyish light and the first note of some wild bird from the jungle,  
‘and then the jagged hill line began to show out, high against  
‘the eastern sky, like a ruined wall seemingly close to us. Pre-  
‘sently the day broke, the Force mounted a long slope and halted  
‘in echelon of regiments on high ground above Roostum bazar,  
‘having travelled about eleven and a half miles since starting.  
‘After a hasty meal and deliberate pipe, we were off again, leaving  
‘the round towers and mud walls of Roostum to the left, and  
‘changing direction more to the eastward, we pushed through  
‘the lower grounds towards the base of the hills. These soon  
‘began to close in on either hand, a glance to the right showed  
‘us the baggage of Keyes’ column winding through an opening  
‘in the lower range, and looking picturesque enough in the  
‘blue misty air of the early morning. At last we entered a long  
‘broad valley which narrowed gradually as we proceeded, till after  
‘crossing a small clear stream at Surkhowa, we were fairly in the  
‘mouth of the Umbeyla Pass and within long musket range of  
‘the hills on either side of us. The stream was narrow, but with  
‘a broad bed, and the size of the water-worn stones showed that  
‘in time of rain it must contain a considerable body of water,  
‘though the banks were not high enough to render it unfordable  
‘in places at all times. The bed showed fragments of limestone,  
‘quartz, and granite; of the latter, some was compact enough,  
‘some of a character which had already been much disintegrated  
‘by the weather, and promised soon to resolve itself into the  
‘same sort of granular sand as that of which the soil about was  
‘full, and as usual in these mountain streamas, afforded a fair index

to the geological character of the hills themselves. This to my not very well instructed mind seemed peculiar, and the vegetable kingdom was in an equally anomalous condition.

The sides of the hills were on the higher slopes clothed with a dense forest of enormous pines, through which as we passed below we could hear the east wind moaning as it only does in a pine forest. Lower down large date trees rustled dryly their green-grey leaves, and added with their bunches of fruit a touch of bright gold to the sombre foliage about, which gave the scene a strange character. Little English-looking ferns sheltered themselves under the great rocks and trailed their fronds in the clear stream—and above, the enormous creepers of a tropical forest formed arches overhead or bound in impenetrable tangles the low trees immediately bordering on the road:—road properly speaking however, there was none, here and there was a narrow path which lost itself now in the bed of the stream now in the dense jungle. The hills on either side grew higher and closer together, and masses of rock, seeming at first sight to bar all further progress, had to be worked round or scrambled over. The column which had been moving in sections was soon reduced to fours, then to file, and at last men scrambled along independently as best they could, and this not for a few hundred yards but for more than three miles. The pass proved to be nine miles in length from its entrance at Surkhowa to the top of the watershed above Umbeyla, and, for the last portion of this distance, was intricate and difficult of passage. Nor was it possible to maintain much military order except at the very slowest pace. Here was seen a mule being dug out of a crevice by sappers, whilst H. M.'s Infantry halted and swore at the delay, there was a jam of mountain train ammunition or stores, the beasts kicking and screaming twenty deep in an angle of the water. Now a few inexperienced men would push forward in a likely direction on the flanks, and being brought up by impenetrable jungle, or the edge of a precipice, return growling—now a block would occur to the front, and the entire force sit down to drink cold water or smoke the pipe of patience. Fortunately there was none to hinder, Wilde and Keyes had done their work thoroughly, and these recreations in their rear were enjoyed if not in patience at least in peace. Had the enemy occupied any one of the formidable defensive positions which the pass offered, in any considerable force, there might have been trouble, a false alarm of fighting to the front, showing how difficult it would have been to unite them at any part of it for attack or resistance. But the brunt of what little fighting took place had been borne by the advanced column who had



‘crowned the heights on both sides of the gorge and proceeded according to the established rules of mountain warfare. As in this case, the hills bounding the road, especially on its southern side, were intersected at right angles by precipitous and almost impassable ravines; it was at first sight a puzzle to us how this was managed so quickly and efficiently as to keep the column well in advance of those that followed, and the pass at the same time entirely free for them. A word of explanation made all clear. The process was pretty, soldierlike, and entirely efficient, a couple of the leading companies were pushed up the hills on either side, the enemy if disposed to be troublesome got a round or two from the little mountain train howitzers to shake them, then the infantry charged and cleared them out, and that pair of hills was safe; coming down at their leisure they then fell in in rear, and the two next, ascending in their turn, covered the advance, which was throughout steady and well conducted, as might be expected from its leaders. At last therefore, hot, tired, somewhat ill-tempered, and very hungry, we reached the last and most formidable gorge of the pass: at that point where the streams flow two different ways, the one to the rear to join the Caubul river through the Eusofzaie territory, the other to the front to form the Chumla river and fall into the Indus under the dark shadows of the black mountain. We had been sixteen hours on foot and found the first column halted just beyond us, and looking out for a soft place and some rotten wood for a fire, too tired to enjoy the scene which was very fine, flung ourselves down to a pipe, a modicum of Ration rum, the blessings of soft grass and the knowledge that we had to go no further for the night.’

This description brings the first day's march to a close at a point about twenty-five miles from that at which it commenced and leaves it in the pass about two miles short of Umbeyla, and the plain of the Chumla valley on which it was situated, and there from the lateness of the hour they were compelled to halt for the night. From General Chamberlain's despatch we gather that his strategy had hitherto proved almost, but only almost, entirely successful. The enemy's attention had been drawn as was intended it should be to the Durrun Pass. The stockade which had been in course of preparation near Surkhowa in the Umbeyla pass had been abandoned, and at most two hundred and fifty men had offered a feeble resistance to the passage of the advanced column. But the information regarding the pass itself had, like so much native information regarding routes and distances, proved useless or rather mischievous. Not that there was suspicion of its having been given in bad faith, but because it

road which a mountaineer calls good and open, and which is good for him, his one pony, or his half dozen camels, is most frequently far from eligible for the passage of an army moving with its artillery, baggage, and commissariat; and further because he usually indicates his distances by *marches* which are of variable length, or by *time* of which he has absolutely no idea.

The force itself had then nearly completed its march, two miles further, and it would have been clear of the hills and in the open country of the Chumla valley, but entangled in the interminable pass, neither baggage nor commissariat were fully up for nearly four days.

Those four days sufficed to complete the combinations, and assemble the forces, of the tribes whom the route chosen had exasperated, and the two miles of that march unfinished on the 21st of October still remained so until the 16th of December, nearly two months later.

It was ascertained afterwards, that on first hearing of the considerable movements of troops which preceded the assembly of the expedition, the Hindostanees, dreading the coming reckoning which they early foresaw, had called upon the chiefs of the larger tribes far and near for assistance, had sent forth their Moolvies to preach the coming of the twelfth Imam amongst the people, and proclaim a Holy War, whilst threatening the weaker clans with fire and sword should they fail them in this their hour of need. They had effected a reconciliation with the Akhoond of Swât, whose friendship they could now no longer afford to neglect, and made special overtures to the powerful Boneyr tribe for help, or an asylum from their enemies. They also foretold to the latter that a force would enter the hills in the neighbourhood of their country, and attempt by treaty or proclamation to obtain from them a free passage to the Mahabun. But they warned them that, were they to permit this, their country would be seized, and their territory permanently annexed by the British, as was the well-known custom of those Infidels.

We can now see how well they calculated; how the proclamation sent out at the last moment, instantly followed as it was by the seizure of the Umbeyla Pass, which formed the boundary of the Boneyr country and gave access to its key, the Boneyr Pass, must have to their minds confirmed this intelligence; turned suspicion (so strong an element of the Pathan Character) into what they conceived to be certainty, and caused them to fly to arms for the protection of the territory, whose danger must have appeared to them imminent.

It was probably their urgent call for help, thus threatened, as they conceived *themselves to be*, that brought to their assistance



the Akhoond of Swât and the men from beyond his border to Umbeyla, and turned in favour of the Hindostanees the scale which the knowledge of the power of the English must long have kept librating in the minds of the leading men of the frontier. The chiefs once having resolved to take up arms, the fanaticism of their followers, already deeply stirred, ensured a numerous muster to their standards, and on the Akhoond's declaring himself for war a great combination of the tribes followed as a matter of course. There can be no question that the proportions which the affair eventually assumed were vastly greater than these causes alone could have produced, and were brought about by nothing less than what was considered to be the helpless condition of the force, or the hopes entertained far and near, by the hill men, of being in at the easy death and plunder of the infidel. It seems fair then to assume that the provocation given to the Boneyr tribe by the seizure of the Umbeyla Pass, was the cause of the original resistance which first delayed the advance of the force, and which gathering to itself fresh recruits with every hour of that delay, finally placed it in a state of siege and confessedly of no little peril.

Whether or no the passage of the Darrun would have had a like effect must remain an open question; the probabilities are in our opinion that it would not have done so, but we are at a loss to see how a different result could have been reasonably expected from the course adopted.

It was said at the time, and at first sight the General's well known character for dashing courage gives colour to the report, that he had all along anticipated resistance from the Boneyr tribe, whichever route he might adopt, and, considering their assumption of a hostile attitude to be merely a question of time, was willing to give them an opportunity of at once declaring themselves. A moment's consideration however must prove this supposition to be untenable; for should we adopt it one of these conclusions is irresistibly forced upon us;—either that he so greatly miscalculated as to suppose that a march which, practically for all the efficiency of the army, occupied more than three days, could be performed in one, and that he moreover consented, on its completion, to the abandonment of all connection with his base of operations: or that desiring to maintain this connection, he was willing to place nine miles of its least defensible part at the mercy of the Boneyrwal, whilst provoking them to resistance, or at best hazarding a line of conduct which could hardly have had any other effect. He must have been well aware moreover that in such a quarrel the Boneyrwal would not stand alone, and that their natural allies were

at no great distance from the seat of operations, and powerful for offence.

But in the Despatch before us the hostile attitude of the Boneyr tribe, and the natural alliances which followed its assumption, are given as the reasons which rendered an advance impossible. It must then be evident that we must look to some other cause for the line pursued, and this will we think be found in the political conduct of the expedition.

In all our former dealings with the tribes political action, not to say intrigue, marched side by side with our columns; here an understanding effected by fair words or hard silver with one tribe prepared the way for a blow at their neighbours, and there the blow itself brought about a better understanding, as we wished to be understood, with all. We had been accustomed to look to political agency to clear our way to success by open force, and to secure its results. No expedition was conducted without something approaching to certainty as to those by whom it would be opposed from day to day—who would permit, and who dispute its passage. The officer in command marched in the direction indicated, and fought or held his hand as he was bid, and under the guidance of such men as Edwardes and Mackeson the system worked well enough.

Here however we believe political agency to have been subordinated to the military plan, which, sound as it was in a merely military point of view, was yet dependant for its success on the success of the political action. General Chamberlain no doubt received an assurance that the Umbeyla Pass might be attempted in safety as far as the Boneyrwal were concerned. But the means adopted for securing this result were inadequate and productive of the very danger against which they professed to guard. In order to put out of the question the possibility of a formidable resistance being organized in the pass, and intelligence conveyed to the Hindostanees of the proposed surprize, it was thought well to defer till the last moment any communication with the Boneyrwal themselves. Then a proclamation announcing our intentions was timed to reach them simultaneously with our armed occupation of their pass and the key of their country. Peaceable as were our professions, the very act contradicted them; and we can feel no surprise at the indignation which it excited, at their declaration that this act of treachery (as they considered it to be,) alone excited them to take up arms, nor at their justification by it of their persistent hostility, and unwillingness to enter into negotiations, in which they could give us no credit for good faith towards them.



The good will of these men might be propitiated or might be bought, and both courses were open to us, but an ill-calculated surprise of their territory accompanied by a feeble bid for their acquiescence in the fact, after its accomplishment, could scarcely be productive of any good result. The value of the military plan *per se* was undeniable, were it totally independent of the attitude of the people through whose territory the march was to be conducted. A timely treaty with the Boneyrwal might have secured the passage desired, but the mixture of surprise and negotiation, with a suspicious and warlike people such as those with whom we had to deal, could hardly under any circumstances have produced anything short of the hostility which followed.

The responsibility seems to have been a divided one, and had there not been what looks very much like an attempted mixture of *policy* with *action*, a giving to neither one nor the other of its proper weight nor position, the result might have been widely different. But between political action which mainly depended on an implied threat which the force was inadequate to carry out, and a military plan which was founded on the postulate of the completeness of such political action, the thing fell through.

We will proceed to relate how General Chamberlain, confined to his rocky encamping ground in the Umbeyla Pass, manfully fought through the siege which he now had to undergo, and, sheltered by a few miserable dry stone walls, successfully resisted for nearly two months the most formidable Pathan combination which had opposed our arms since the terrible times of the great Caubul rising, the murders of Burnes and Macnaughten, and the disastrous retreat and slaughter of the Khyber.

Placed as he was at a disadvantage, the magnitude of which was doubtless greatly over-estimated by the enemy, his defence has probably caused them a heavier loss both in men and resources, and inspired them with a greater respect for the British power than would have followed the most rapid and brilliant advance; whilst the courage and loyalty of the Pathan soldiers serving in our own ranks having been conspicuous and undoubted when both were most severely tested, gives us confidence in the source of power we have in their enlistment in time of need, and cannot fail to be a salutary lesson to those who counted on fanaticism, or their consanguinity to those to whom they were opposed, to seduce them from their allegiance.

In order to a correct understanding of what followed, it will be now necessary to give some description of the position of the Camp above Umbeylah, its capabilities as a defensive position and

the means taken to strengthen it for its permanent occupation, and we shall do so partially by quotations from the journal before us, and partially from descriptions gathered from other sources, so as to present as far as possible a complete picture of the state of affairs at this juncture. First then for our quotation :—

‘Yesterday we were in hopes of getting the route for this morning, and looking forwards to a march in the dusty plain beyond the pass. To-day no baggage, no commissariat, no march therefore. Officers and men scattered over the hill side are venting their impatience on the great pine-trees which they are cutting down for firewood. The hills ring with the blows of the heavy pioneer axes, the shouts of the men, and the crash of falling timber; here two dozen Europeans have shouldered a huge trunk for their company’s watch fire, and are staggering down hill with it, there they have nearly cut through one standing high up on the edge of a precipice and are rocking it to and fro and shouting *heads below*, whilst the tough wood groans and cracks, and the red stem and tufted head of the old tree totter to their fall.

‘The native soldier, more modest in his requirements, is breaking the dead stems of the low shrubs about, or plying his small hatchet on such as resist his strength, and a dozen little spires of smoke are already rising into the clear air from below, though it wants yet long of sunset. A strange picturesque camping ground! behind us the high line of the watershed of the pass, where narrowed to some fifty yards in width, it is dominated on the left by a huge mass of granite rock which stands up alone high on the precipitous hill-side like a sentinel to guard the gate, and on the right by a steep and stony mountain intersected by deep ravines and crowned by the inevitable pine. From this it widens out as it descends by regular gradations, and on these broad and level steps we have seated ourselves; whilst towards the valley convenient spurs again approaching shut in to a great extent the very amount of ground we require. A little stream trickles from amongst the stones and gives water enough for ourselves and the beasts, and wood we have plenty, the climate is not too warm in the day time, but rather cold at night. We only want food to eat and an enemy to fight to make campaigning pleasant enough here. The English private seems happy and contented with his wood-cutting, tumbles and scrambles,—great helpless overgrown schoolboy as he is, full of animal spirits, he goes to the hillside, tires himself out, then comes in with his wood, lights a fire, eats whatever mess his cookboy may have made of his rations, drinks his rum, gets his black pipe under way and for the time being cares for nothing more.



' A Frenchman under like circumstances would have been employed in a thousand ways in making himself comfortable and never rested till he had his hut, his bakery, and his canteen; he would have snared small birds on the hills, or who knows? may be, entrapped a casual batrachian from the stream for his stew or his entrée, and we should have had the *allée du Panj Durrah*—the *rue Surkhowa* and the *Place Umbeyla* in no time. Why should we not imitate him in some of these ways, get out of our heads the notion that it is unmanly to take care of *ourselves* in those ways, and do for our men by careful instruction what Galton has done for the educated traveller and campaigner. We should be no losers by the process; and might save valuable life—or health without which the life becomes often scarce worth the having. However with all their failings they are fine fellows, and I wish we'd more of them here. To return to our camp, from the bottom of the valley all but the view of the hills and the jungle is shut out from sight—but on ascending their sides for a short distance the Chumla valley can be seen beyond us—the path to which must be by the bed of the watercourse which commences in the camp itself and winds down to the plain amongst grey rocks, and here and there a group of fine trees—there stands what they tell us is the village of Umbeyla, a not very considerable cluster of flat-topped huts about which a few figures in blue coats and turbans may be seen through the glass. On the north side of the valley is a long nearly straight row of hills, of no great height, extending as far as we can see—and from behind these again peeps up here and there a snowy spire, which hints of some good cause for the bitter coldness of the N. East wind, lying beyond; in the centre of the picture is a far distant line of dark hill country which must nearly represent the position of the Black Mountain, and on the right or south side of the valley which is nearly concealed from us by the lower spurs of the nearer hills, there is yet to be seen far off a jagged peak or two, which must belong to the Mahabun, "the hill of the mighty forest," towards which it is supposed we are going—high up on the left again and closer to us is the great Goroo Mountain, about whose top 6,000 feet up, lingers a light mist entangled amongst the dark trees which fringe the sky line lower down, the steep sides are seamed by deep ravines into which we cannot see, and here a rocky mound, the point of some small half-detached dependent hill, breaks the slope, and there smooth precipitous faces of bare rock reflect a little greyish light; the rest is jungle and deep pine forest, and not a living thing seems to move on the face of it.

' The whole valley looks quiet enough, Probyn with some of

his own sabres and some guide cavalry went out to-day to reconnoitre, a regiment of infantry went out also with some sappers and miners to see him through the defile and cover the latter whilst repairing the road. Not a shot has been fired that we have heard, so they must have been unmolested.

Oct. 23rd, last evening towards sunset shots began to be heard from the direction of Umbeyla, and presently the cavalry and a small party of infantry returned to camp, the firing soon after became lively, and after a time a night attack on the camp itself followed.

It seems Probyn had been allowed to proceed towards Kogah some seven miles down the valley, peaceably enough, but on his return an attempt was made by the Boneyr people to get between him and the mouth of the pass, posting themselves in broken ground for the purpose. He accordingly charged them and cut his way through, the regiment covering his return through the defile where cavalry would be unable to act with freedom.

The 20th, after recalling their outlying parties, retired fighting the whole way into camp, which they did not reach until long after dark. The enemy were in some strength and tried to force their way into the lines, but by this time every one was ready for them, and they were met by a sharp file fire from the Enfield rifles, and grape from the mountain-train guns.

The night attack formed a curious and picturesque scene, the dark line of the jungle to the front, and right and left the two portfires of the mountain-train shining like stars, whilst between them a dim line of infantry stretched across the valley. Suddenly comes a wild shout of Allah! Allah! the matchlocks flash and crack from the shadow of the trees; there is a glitter of whirling sword blades, and a mob of dusky figures rushes across the open space and charges almost up to the bayonets; then comes a flash and a roar, the grape and canister dash up the stones and gravel, and patter amongst the leaves at close range, the whole line lights up with the fitful flashes of a sharp file fire, and as the smoke clears off they are nowhere to be seen; feeble groans from the front, and cries for water in some Pathan *patois*, alone tell us that the fire has been effectual. Presently comes another shot or two in a new direction, a few rolling stones on the hill inform the quick ears of the native troops that the enemy is attempting to take us in flank, and they push up to meet them at once, and so the line of fire and sharp cracking of our rifles extends gradually far up the dark and precipitous hill side, and the roar of battle multiplied a thousand-fold by



' the echoes of the mountain, fills the long valley from end to end, then there is another shout and charge, more grape and musketry which ends as before—but this time a dark group which moves slowly through our line and carries tenderly some heavy burden tells us that *their* shooting too has told.

' Presently from near the centre of the line comes a voice so full of command that all stop to listen, and prepare to obey. The order is "cease firing, let them charge up to the point of the bayonet, and then"—the rest is lost—but every soldier knows well how the sentence is ended, and stays his hand waiting in deep silence, which contrasts strangely with the previous uproar, for what is to follow. High up on a little knoll well to the front we see the tall form of the General towering above his staff and looking intently into the darkness before him, and he it was who had spoken; apparently however they had had enough, and but a few straggling shots from time to time, told that an enemy of whose numbers we could form no idea, still lay in the jungle before us. Presently these also ceased, but long afterwards we could hear their footsteps, and the stones rolling on the hills as they retired, and judged that they must be carrying off their dead and wounded; or they would have moved more quietly.

' Poor Gillies of the mountain-train was killed in this action. These guns had been furnished with portfires instead of friction tubes, and at night their light served to direct the enemy's fire upon them and cost him his life; he had insisted contrary to the advice of his medical men, for he was far from well, on accompanying his battery on service, and died a soldier's death at his gun, the first officer we have lost. A few other casualties occurred, but the enemy must have suffered severely, and the remainder of the night passed off quietly. Now however that blood has been shed, it is likely that we shall have more fighting before long.'

The description above quoted gives a slight sketch of the camp, and some account of General Chamberlain's first serious collision with the tribes. The latter was brought on immediately no doubt by Colonel Probyn's reconnoissance and the preparations in progress for a further advance in the direction of the Boneyr Pass; but would have taken place within a day or two had no such opportunity for attack been afforded them. The full significance of their hostility was not appreciated by us until later, but even now it was found necessary to think of reinforcements and the adoption of measures for maintaining the long communications by the line of the Umbeyla Pass.

Meanwhile the numbers of the enemy about the village of Umbeyla rapidly increased, and they might be observed in small bodies perched high up on the spurs of the hills in observation of the movements of the force, wandering about the lower end of the pass, or seated on the huge rocks which here and there bordered on the road.

On the morning of the 25th Major Keyes discovered almost accidentally that an attack on the right of camp was in contemplation, and a considerable body of the enemy assembled for its execution. He instantly assumed the offensive, and, ably assisted by Captain Davidson, his second in command, drove them before him into the position afterwards known as the Conical Hill, and sending to camp for reinforcements, sat down to await their arrival. These shortly afterwards came up, consisting of a mountain train battery under Hughes, the 5th Goorkhas, a company of H. M.'s 71st H. L. I., and a small body of European marksmen. The marksmen lined the ridge of rocks, the remainder being placed in reserve. The guns were dragged up into position by hand and masked by sections of the Khaki-coated gunners standing in front of them, then the range was ascertained by means of Enfield rifle shell, and fuzes cut, and sights adjusted, accordingly. When all was ready the sections wheeled back, and the guns opened at once and made beautiful practice. The first shell knocked over a standard, and several of the enemy on the top of the hill. The marksmen too fired quickly and steadily, and the little puffs of smoke from their rifle shells formed a useful guide to their aim and elevation.

Presently the enemy began to waver, and here and there one was seen stealing away amongst the trees in rear of the hill. At this Keyes with the 1st Punjab Infantry (the *Coke's Rifles* so well known at Delhi) dashed across the plain at the double and storming the hill without a break, captured a standard, cut up several men, and drove the rest pell mell over the hills upon the village of Laloo, and the force then returned to camp. This little action may hereafter be remembered, *first* for its dash and success, and *secondly*, because in it infantry rifle shells were used for the first time in actual warfare. Projectiles of this kind have long been known to the sportsman, and General Jacob spent much time, labour, and money, in adapting them to the rifle which bears his name; those now used were the invention of Lieutenant Fosbery, an instructor of musketry attached to the field force, and were used with the ordinary Enfield rifle.

From this time the force may be considered to be actually besieged, for communication with the rear except to armed parties became unsafe, and bodies of the enemy crowned the heights



or scoured the plain to the front, cutting off all stragglers and keeping up a desultory matchlock-fire on the camp itself, and this, especially amongst the camp followers, caused several casualties.

Constant affairs of outposts now took place, more or less serious in their character, some of which deserve more special notice.

Hitherto we have in describing scenery or events, given extracts which contain irrelevant matter; for the future, especially as it is often necessary to compare several accounts in order to arrive at a correct idea of what actually occurred, we shall give a shorter summary, putting into our own words the information we have been able to gather regarding it, or borrowing without hesitation such of the language of our informants as seem to give the truest help to a right understanding, and in doing this reserve our verbatim quotations for such events as they may more closely describe.

In order to comprehend what followed, a further description of the position becomes necessary not as a halting ground merely, but as a camp prepared for defence, with its outposts and armament, and having been able to obtain this from many sources, we shall give it as succinctly as possible.

The form of the portion of the valley actually occupied by the main camp and its immediate defences was that of an irregular triangle, truncated at the apex, which situated at the watershed line was some fifty yards in breadth, the whole was from 450 to 500 yards in length, with a base of about 200. The apex was formed by the main gate or key of the pass and was a formidable position from whichever side it might be attempted. On the north rose the precipitous hill with its granite citadel before described, and on the south, deep ravines on each side of a sharp spur rendered that almost equally defensible; it was closed with the exception of a single opening for the road by dry stone walls, and a mountain battery was placed at hand for its protection. Here were the tents of the General, his staff, and the Commissioner Colonel Taylor, and close behind them on the one hand Colonel Probyn with his horse and the Guides cavalry, and on the other the 101st foot with a regiment of Goorkahs between them.

The base of the triangle was formed by spurs of the hills, which conveniently approached each other from either hand at this point, and were united for defence by a substantial stone breastwork, and immediately behind this, high rocks masked the bottom of the ravine, where the main body of the troops was placed, from the view of the valley beyond. Behind these lay the 71st Highlanders with several native regiments, whose positions were so continually changed as to render a description of them

which would be true of one period of the operations, liable to mislead regarding the next.

On the southern spur about 100 feet above the watercourse were mounted a twenty-four pounder howitzer and two nine-pounder guns under Captain Griffin, R. A., and on the northern a mountain train battery under Captain Hughes. In the centre was the main picket held by an European regiment, who were extended in line behind stone walls to a considerable height on the hills on either hand. The command of the whole of these front defences was entrusted to Colonel Hope, C. B., commanding H. M.'s 71st Regiment.

To the front on either side the hills rose abruptly and their spurs, though separated from those occupied for the defence, by ravines of considerable depth, yet offered a shelter to the enemy's matchlock,—men within range of the position. On both flanks of the camp itself also, the mountain sides were steep and difficult of access, the fact of the distance between them at a height of 1,500 feet being only 800 yards, will convey a fair idea of their angle of ascent. It will also show that every portion of the camp was liable to be searched by the fire of an enemy posted upon them at that elevation. To protect it therefore it became necessary to throw out a chain of posts on either side to this distance at least, and a natural break in the hill side seemed from below to indicate the very positions required. But inasmuch as the camp itself was commanded by the points thus selected, so it was found on reaching them, that they in their turn were dominated by strong positions further up in the hill. Of necessity therefore the outposts were pushed on further and further, until the process was only stopped at last on the southern side by the occupation of the Crag Picket, the highest point of the range, and on the northern at that of the Eagle's nest by the impossibility of maintaining any post at a greater distance from the main camp. As it was, no relief from below could reach the Crag Picket in less than forty-five minutes, nor the Eagle's nest in less than one hour from the time of starting. From below also, neither point was visible, and were assistance required it must be sent for, which involved an expenditure of time, that practically almost doubled the distance.

Roads had to be made to reach and connect all these posts, and breastworks for their defence, and the construction of these with their maintenance and relief harassed and fatigued a large proportion of the force. From their peculiar situation the Eagle's nest and the Crag Picket became the keys of the position, and being so were moreover situated at the extreme points of the line occupied. The enemy early discovered their impor-



tance, as was shown by the frequency and obstinacy of their attacks on both, some of which it will hereafter be necessary to describe.

When a position, especially one intended for a lengthened occupation, is selected, care is of course taken, either that it is not commanded by high ground in its immediate neighbourhood, or that such ground can be held by strong posts capable either of immediate relief, or of prolonged independent resistance. These are besides arranged so as to afford each other mutual support, and so that the fall of any one of them will not of necessity compromise either the remainder of the line or the safety of the camp or entrenchment; a position of this kind becomes on a small scale that of a large army acting on the defensive, the one being covered by its outlying pickets and entrenched posts, as is the other by its advanced brigades, redoubts, and fortresses, and the same general principles apply *mutatis mutandis* to both cases.

In both the strength of the whole is mainly that of its weakest point, and this again lies as much in the promptness with which it can be efficiently supported, as in its intrinsic natural or artificial advantages. To be safe it must be capable either of withstanding unaided a more powerful attack by open force than there is any reason to believe can be brought against it, or holding its own against such an attack for a considerably longer time than that calculated for the march of its supports.

When however the position assumed is a compulsory one, the situations of its outposts are frequently such as would under no other circumstances have been selected, and then the natural contour of the ground must as much as possible be turned to advantage by artificial means, and the distance, or other difficulties tending to delay the arrival of succours, compensated for as much as may be. In the case of a large army the position of the outposts would probably be selected either by the commander himself or some superior and competent officer, and they would then be strengthened according to their purpose and importance under the direction of the chief of Engineers. With a small force both duties frequently fall upon junior officers, and mistakes are more liable to occur either in the selection of the positions for the various posts, or in their subsequent preparation for defence.

It is confessedly difficult to attain without much experience that military coup-d'œil which will at a glance detect the natural strength or weakness of a position in all its details, under other than exceptional circumstances,—and that will at once fix upon the points immediately requiring attention.

Some degree of professional knowledge would be undoubtedly necessary to turn to the best advantage the ground or village to be held by a brigade accompanied by cavalry and artillery, especially where labour and materials were scarce. But to place a company or two of infantry in safety on strong ground previously selected for him with abundant material at hand ought not to be beyond the power of the youngest Ensign in the service.

It is occasionally the duty of a General to send some of his men into action under circumstances which will render the return of any one of their number improbable in the highest degree. If he can be shown to have done this as the only price at which a necessary object could be attained, and not recklessly thrown away, the lives of his soldiers, he is held to have acted rightly. Marshal Pelissier is said to have remarked with a shrug of his broad shoulders when alluding to the terrible loss of his division at the storm of the Malakoff, 'Eh bien! que voulez vous? pour faire les omelettes, il faut casser les œufs.' And though Englishmen were offended at the levity of the remark, the principle it involved was granted, and his calculation admitted to be correct.

Such responsibility less often falls upon inferior officers, and is at all times in the English service undertaken with more reluctance and deliberation than in other armies, especially the French, partly, because of the different natures of the two peoples, partly, because their soldiers are originally conscripts, ours recruits.

But if we are apt unreasonably to reprobate an expenditure of life when deliberately incurred by an able officer at the call of what he honestly believes to be his military duty, because we are unable to see the cogency of the arguments which forced him to the step, or because we are disappointed in its results; we are naturally the more incensed at the loss of a single man through ignorance, carelessness, or incapacity. Nor do we envy any officer his feelings who shall discover such to have been the result of any want of professional knowledge on his part.

Few situations are more trying to a soldier than a purely defensive one. The superiority it concedes to the enemy, the comparatively monotonous life which it enforces, and the increased state of vigilance, uncertainty, and preparation for attack, make large demands on his endurance and temper, and it becomes doubly necessary to compensate to him, by care for his security and well-being, for the many disadvantages under which he is placed; the quickness with which the skill or ignorance displayed in these particulars is seen and appreciated by the men themselves is very remarkable; not so the effect which it at once produces.



Even should an officer be ignorant of the niceties of field fortification or unable to work out the simple arithmetical problems involved in the construction of earthwork, yet when placed in charge of men for whose lives he is responsible, it may be reasonably expected that in protecting them he will put to some use such common sense as he may have been gifted with. If he be ordered to construct a breastwork for instance, that he will build it, so that his own men shall be able to fire over it as much as possible, and the enemy as little as possible.

Further reflection would induce him to make it large enough to contain the party provided for its defence, not one-half or double the size required.

Then he might come to see that it would be well that the sides should not be subject to enfilade fire specially from good cover at short ranges, and finally as a refinement he might even seek to obtain a flanking fire on one or more faces of his work to his own advantage.

Perhaps a thoughtful man would, especially when his enemy were good marksmen, by placing timber on his wall supported at short intervals, or some one of many well-known rough and ready methods, endeavour to obtain for his men additional security.

Then were there an opportunity of getting at the ground in front, even for an hour, he would clear away cover from his immediate neighbourhood, and dispose such obstacles as might be at hand to retard the advance of the enemy.

In this case too common sense would suggest; *first*, that they should be real obstacles;—*secondly*, that they should detain the enemy under the fire of his work, not shelter him from it or detain him elsewhere;—*thirdly*, that if surmounted they should not assist him in getting into the work itself as even in regular field works is sometimes the case with *fraises* injudiciously placed.

All this seems easy enough, and no more than we have a right to expect from any man who knows no more of fortification than its simplest definition—that it is ‘the use of means for enabling a smaller force to resist a greater,’ the highest range of this art, complicated as it is at every step in advance, by fresh elements introduced into the calculation, embraces no more than the science of accumulating obstacles, and concentrating fire in front of each of them for the defence of the position. It commences with a mound, a ditch, and a palisade now, as it did in the time of Julius Cæsar, and the first step consists in assigning to these, correct position, direction, and limits. This once understood, the transition to Vauban, Carnot, and Professor Fergusson is by no means difficult.

A Bootanese bamboo fort, a Burmese stockade, or a New Zealand Pah, show that mere savages, guided by what is at times little better than instinct, understand how to do the right thing with the materials to their hands, and do it in a way that shames our science and civilization.

If such savages with their rude knives and implements, armed as they are with bows and arrows, or at best the matchlocks of India, or the rudest muskets that Birmingham can produce, are able to throw up in a short time works, and accumulate obstacles, which render their fire as deadly as it has proved to be to the best troops in the world, surely our science ought to be able, backed as it is by the best working tools and weapons possessed by any army, to render a post held by a small number of our troops impregnable to a host of them.

But over-confidence in our own powers, great as these are, often makes us neglect the simplest precautions, precautions which not even the veteran soldiers of Rome, when moving in the country of their most contemptible foes, ever neglected to take for the security of their camp of a single night, much less for that of one intended for any lengthened occupation.

When on the other hand we do take precautions, we are apt to consider the slightest barrier to be sufficient to interpose between ourselves and our enemy without much heed as to its direction or the other considerations which should apply to it; forgetting that the expenditure of a little thought will more than treble the value of the labour whilst, may be, saving much that is unnecessary in doing so.

It is not well to underrate or despise an enemy however barbarous, especially when his numbers and mode of fighting are comparatively unknown to us, nor to forget that fanaticism will often for a few minutes place men, careless of their own lives and content to die for one blow at their enemy, on a par with the most carefully trained troops in the world who fight merely for pay or in self-defence.

If we are to record and profit by our experiences, surely these are some of the lessons to be gathered from any account however imperfect of what took place at Umbeyla. In the construction of the most important outworks of the camp there, most of the simple conditions we have laid down were more or less violated in the first instance, whether from ignorance or over-confidence is not clear. It is painful to read of the repeated loss of valuable life, because breastworks were in one case too high for use, in another too low for protection, because the sides of the works were subject to enfilade fire or to be taken in reverse, defilade and efficient flanking fire on their faces being almost universally neglected,



because in one instance an abatis was constructed by the indiscriminate felling of large fir trees, whose trunks afforded cover to the enemy, and the piling of their small boughs against the outside of the wall which assisted them in getting over it:— and because in another small brushwood and dense cover was permitted to exist within sixty yards of the position to be defended, the fire from which could not fail to be most destructive. When by any excessive number of casualties attention was drawn to such points, they were then put to rights by the Engineer officers, but the reconstruction of an entire post rendered necessary by its originally faulty tracing, can seldom be attempted in presence of an enemy, and the mischief could at best be mitigated, not remedied entirely, so that it came to be discovered that positions of great natural strength had been occasionally actually weakened by the means originally injudiciously taken for their defence. How else is it possible to understand the great loss of life which occurred at several points from the effect of the enemy's fire alone?

In the case of the Eagle's nest one-half of the garrison were placed *hors de combat* within five hours from this cause; and the Crag Picket, a position which, had it been properly strengthened, ought never to have been captured by any force unassisted by artillery, was repeatedly lost. The Despatch before us speaks of the unaccountable conduct of a portion of its garrison on one occasion, but additional light is thrown on the subject when we find that excellent cover was suffered to exist within sixty yards of the post on its least defensible side, which was filled by the enemy's sharpshooters up to the moment of attack, that a ravine on which no pains had been taken to bring the fire of even a single rifle, permitted them to approach unseen in any numbers to that distance, and that the ascent of a portion of the breast-work was rendered easy by the small soft fir-branches to which we have before referred.

In the former case the loss only is recorded, and would seem sufficiently remarkable did we not learn that, for the defence of the Mamelon on which the post had been placed, it had been considered sufficient to unite a few of the larger rocks by a dry stone wall, too low to afford adequate protection, and too slight in construction to prevent several wounds being inflicted by bullets which came in through the interstices of the stones, that the *terre plein* within was swept by the enemy's fire, and both sides more or less subject to enfilade, whilst a dense cover of young firs approached it to within eighty yards.

To Major Brownlow is due the credit of having fought both these posts in succession, and in spite of their disadvantages, held

them successfully against repeated, determined, and well-sustained attacks. But as we gather that the Eagle's nest was altered and strengthened on the following day, whilst the Crag Picket was captured by the enemy immediately on his being relieved from its command, we are induced to attribute this success rather to the skill and spirit of the commander, and the devotion he inspired in his men, than to any power of defence possessed by the works themselves. If this then was true of these two principal posts, which were confessedly the keys of the position, it was doubtless yet more so of the remainder of the chain to which attention was less prominently directed. So that had either one or the other fallen, and remained for any time in the hands of the enemy, but little was done artificially to aid the troops in maintaining themselves lower down, during the first period of the operations, or prevent the enemy from afterwards forcing post after post in the direction of the main camp.

At all points the accuracy of fire might have been much increased, the troops been placed more on a par with the enemy (who were first rate skirmishers,) and valuable life saved, had a little more care been expended on securing better cover, without the necessity for any amount of extra labour worth a thought.

Such as they were these posts extended upwards from the two flanks of the camp, and on the left were called the rock, *fir-tree*, cowshed, and upper rock pickets, high above the last of which was the Eagle's nest. On the right were the lower, middle, and upper pickets, the position afterwards known as the Standard, beyond which was what we find called Keyes' position, which seems to have formed a sort of advanced *place d'armes* for the troops, as well as a camping ground for the 1st Punjaub Native Infantry. Above this again were the Crag and the Water Pickets, which formed this extremity of the line and complete our survey of the position.

We have seen that the hostility of the tribes, however provoked, had already borne its fruit in the night attack on the front of camp and the meditated assault on the right, which led to the action at the Conical Hill. The blood shed on these occasions, not enough to do more than exasperate their feelings at their defeat, confirmed them in their desire for action, and urged them to brave the power which as yet they had seen but partially put forth.

On the 26th of October therefore they prepared to attack the camp on the left, the exposed position of the Eagle's nest indicated it as the point on which their efforts would probably be



directed, whilst its commanding height showed it to be the key of the position.

They had been gradually collecting on the mountain in its neighbourhood during the whole of the 25th, and were at first believed to have meditated an attack on this side simultaneous with that discovered and defeated by Major Keyes. Whether their plans were altered by the ill success of their friends on the opposite hill, which they must have seen from the Goroo, or whether they had some other cause for failing to act in concert with them is not known, but on the morning of the 26th they could be seen in large numbers ascending the lower spurs of the mountain and winding in long file amongst the rocks and jungle towards its summit. The outposts on this side, especially the Eagle's nest, were at once therefore strengthened. The latter post received thirty marksmen of the 71st and 101st Regiments and eighty picked men of the 20th Punjaub Infantry under Major Brownlow, whilst the Hazara mountain train battery took up a position somewhat lower on a small Mamelon about 400 yards distant; between them and the Eagle's nest lay the detachment of the 71st Highland Light Infantry under Major Parker, and the 6th Regiment Punjaub Infantry under Major Hoste, the 5th Punjaub Infantry being extended along the crest of the Mamelon with three companies in support of the guns under Lt.-Colonel Vaughan, who also commanded the whole of the left pickets. A low breastwork at the base of the Eagle's-nest was garrisoned by 120 men of different Regiments, and the line was complete. At about 500 yards to the front of the line, and at a considerable height above it, was a large semicircular breastwork or *sunga* which was crowded by the enemy who numbered two or three thousand men, and filled the jungle below it with their sharpshooters.

Between these and some of the garrison of the Eagle's nest a desultory fire had been maintained for some time, or up till about 12 o'clock in the day, and then ceased. A short pause followed, then waving their swords and standards, with loud shouts, the enemy sprang over their breastwork and poured in dark masses down the hill to the attack, their marksmen dropping into every patch of brushwood or behind every stone that would shelter them, and firing to cover the advance, which was continued by the swordsmen under the chiefs themselves who rushed on with the greatest gallantry to the storm of the picket.

But between the base of the hill and the rocks on which the latter was placed lay a little plain some eighty yards in breadth which was swept by the fire of the work, and here they became *exposed to so close and deadly a fire that they were forced after*

many efforts to abandon for a moment the attack and retire under the shelter of the trees and rocks; their sharpshooters from the hill side then redoubled their fire, which fell like hail on the exposed portions of the *terre-plein*, splintered the stones of the slight parapet, or brought down the bark and small boughs of the trees in showers. This caused many casualties, and from the excellent cover and length of front which they occupied was difficult to reply to effectively. Here and there a small party moving off with a dead or wounded man proved however that what was done had its effect. After a time a second determined rush was made, and two of the enemy's standards planted successfully, notwithstanding the fall of many of the party, under the rocks on the top of which the Eagle's nest was situated, and in this position those immediately about them were entirely sheltered from the fire of the work; seeing this, small parties of the enemy began running the gauntlet of the fire on the little plain in front, and joining those under the rocks: a powerful storming party would thus have been shortly formed, with but about thirty feet of rough scrambling to get over before reaching the parapet itself. Once there, and engaged in a hand to hand contest with the garrison, their supports in any numbers were close at hand, and, from the entire absence of all flanking fire, could have joined them at no risk to themselves until reaching the top of the rocks.

This danger was seen and appreciated by one of the officers in the post. Two or three marksmen were so placed as to command the little plain, and directed to shoot at no one but those actually carrying the standards. Then a few volunteers brought up heavy stones and hove them over the parapet on the heads of those below. They stood for a short time, till at last several of their number being hurt, and the shower of stones not abating, they were compelled to run for it. The well-trained marksmen waited patiently, and at the right instant shot down the standard bearers according to order, nicely under the fire from the parapet, several attempts were made to carry off the standards themselves, which resulted in a pile of the enemy's bodies being formed over and about them, and the danger was over.

Presently the 6th Panjaub Infantry under the gallant Hoste charged up the hill to their front and caused a movement in retreat which extended for a minute or two to the whole of the enemy's force as far up the hill as the great *sunga*,—but the nature of the ground prevented an advance in any strong formation, and the enemy regaining confidence turned upon them and charged the line of skirmishers sword in hand in overpowering numbers. The 6th fell back, slowly at first, but getting mixed up with the



enemy, a mass of combatants was rapidly borne down the hill as far as the original line. The enemy, elated at what they imagined to be a signal success, shouted loudly and, quitting their cover, poured down from rock and jungle to complete the victory. They reckoned without their host. Major Parker of the 71st had deployed his men, who stood firm as the rocks themselves, and received them with so sudden and deadly a file fire that they retired as quickly as they had come. The mountain train guns pouring in grape and canister and fire of the 5th Punjaub Infantry taking them almost in flank, their onset, dashing and rapid as are all the attacks of these mountaineers, was changed into as sudden a retreat, many a blue coated Pathan, keen blade, and long matchlock, strewing the slope of the hill as they went up. One of the fallen standards was captured by the 20th, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the entire native portion of the garrison of the Eagle's nest had been prevented from rushing down from their rock to take part in the hand-to-hand fighting and charging with the 6th. Their commander however held them well in hand, and it was well he did so, for though the attack on the main line was triumphantly repulsed, yet the immediate front of the post was to be reached by no fire but that of the garrison themselves, and the remainder of the day was passed in attempts on the part of the enemy to capture it, which, determined at first, grew more and more feeble as the day declined.

Meantime the slaughter at this point had been terrible, considering the numbers engaged, and within the little work lay a pile of dead and wounded men whom it was impossible to remove or more than partly attend to. The gallant Richmond, distinguished for conspicuous bravery on the 22nd, when being detached from his regiment with a party on one of the spurs of the hill bordering on the pass, and surrounded by the enemy in great numbers, he had cut his way through them and rejoined the Regiment, was killed here; shot from the hill above, whilst cheering the men under the hottest fire which fell on them that day; knowing this to be the post of danger with a soldier's instinct, he had volunteered, day after day, to remain here, and his commander was not one to balk a spirit like his. Lyons, the surgeon of the 20th, regardless of a fire under which combatants at times quailed, placed the dying man under shelter of a fallen tree and sat beside him, himself exposed to the storm of ball from the hill, or coolly passed from man to man of the wounded doing for each all that skill or tender care could do. Major Brownlow inspired into every one a portion of his own gallant spirit, here directed the fire of his men and steadied

their excitement, there tended his wounded and dying, he not being sheltered under the parapet, as they were, and kept the while a vigilant eye on the movements of the enemy. No wonder then that they fought magnificently, and died, when it came to dying, as men should. Captain Butler, V. C. of the 101st, who had come up with their marksmen, fought like a private soldier, and by his example and good shooting did great service; he is supposed to have killed nine or ten of the enemy with his own rifle; indeed the practice of these men throughout appears to have been admirable, and on the return to camp of the marksmen of the two Regiments a statement was made that they could '*count ten skins apiece.*' This Americanism of course must have been, as all Americanisms are, slightly exaggerated, yet the slaughter in front of the post was great, and the number of the enemy put *hors de combat* so far exceeded the official returns that there must have been some near approximation to the truth.

Towards evening that party was relieved and the position garrisoned for the night, which passed off quietly, but in the morning there was weeping in many a Boneyr village, and men came in under a flag of truce to seek for their dead, and carry them off for sepulture in the burying places of their fathers. These men did not seem humbled or beaten, spoke freely and frankly as mountain men will, acknowledged in part their loss, but said there were more there behind the hill who would supply the places of those gone by the fortune of war, and seemed to mean fighting rather than otherwise.

A number of the Hindostanees from Mulkah had arrived in time to join in this action, and suffered some loss. Among the standards which were brought up by them was one which was seen then for the first and last time during the campaign, this was the Regimental colour of some Native Infantry Regiment which had *gone* in the time of the great mutiny, and they had the hardihood to place it on the hill side some 150 yards from the Eagle's nest; the result was that the attention of some of the marksmen being called to it, every man who approached it was at once either killed or wounded, until at last no one ventured near it, and it was left standing by itself; the charge of the 6th did not reach it, and it was soon after carried off not to appear again in the front of battle during the rest of the operations; its possessors doubtless guessed from what had happened that it was likely to attract to them far more notice of the same sort than they at all desired.

When there was leisure to ascertain the loss which took place on this day, it was found that nearly one-half of the garrison of the Eagle's nest had been either killed or wounded, entirely by the fire



of the enemy, that the 6th had suffered severely during their charge and subsequent retirement, principally from sword-cut wounds, and that neither the 5th nor the mountain train had escaped loss in a less degree. The action was not without its effect on the Boneyrwal, who confident in their numbers, the assistance of the Hindostanees, (some of them trained in the old Native Infantry Regiments,) and the support of parties from the smaller tribes about, had been rendered more so by the sight of the insignificant force opposed to them, separated as it was from the main body, and had yet received a signal check which for the first time began to force upon them the true nature and magnitude of the struggle to which they had pledged themselves. They now therefore became solicitous regarding the safety of their own pass which they fortified, assembling in rear of its crest a force for its protection, and establishing a camp near the top of the Goroo Mountain, the possession of which would have given to the British the command of the whole of the lower and dependant ranges, and therefore necessarily that of their pass and country. For, except for a short distance, these men will not fight up-hill, and the confidence with which they will descend upon an enemy is found to be greatly diminished when the process is reversed. A charge made on them from above is generally successful, though made with greatly inferior numbers, whilst an attempt to storm a hill on which they are strongly posted, is invariably resisted to the last moment, and from their activity, resolution, and many resources, is both a dangerous and difficult undertaking. Their camp could not be seen from any portion of the position or its outposts, but its existence was ascertained beyond a doubt from the number of large birds which at certain times of the day hovered over a particular spot beyond the crest of the mountain, a sure indication in India of the presence of any considerable body of men, as well as of their usual hour for dining.

The next three days were occupied by the enemy in assembling their forces which now began to crowd the level ground about Umbeyla, move in long procession down the Boneyr Pass, with standards displayed, or take up positions in the hills to the front and on the flanks of the position. They also established many little posts from which a few cool, steady men, protected by small stone breastworks, kept up a most galling fire on the entire camp and its outworks. The European marksmen were continually employed in replying to these, a dangerous and harassing duty which, whilst keeping them continually under fire, rendered necessary the alternate ascent and descent of almost every eminence in the neighbourhood of the camp. They were able

however to kill several of the enemy notwithstanding the admirable cover which they occupied, and keep them, after a time, at a respectful distance from any position known to be occupied by themselves.

The full results of the combination of the tribes now began to be seen in the accession of numbers which the enemy hourly received, and some great movement on their part appeared to be in contemplation. The small valley which debouched near Umbeyla at right angles to the pass, on the right hand, and extended as far up as the village of Lalloo and the Conical Hill was observed to be filled by bodies of the enemy who, waving their standards in defiance, proceeded in an almost unbroken stream towards the village and heights beyond it. This movement was so marked on the afternoon of the 29th of October that General Chamberlain directed fire to be brought to bear on them by the howitzers and nine-pounder guns of Captain Griffin's battery, from which however the enemy were invisible. A system of signals was therefore rapidly improvised and organized by which the fire of the guns could be directed from the 'Standard Picket' 1,500 feet above them, and by sinking the trails of his guns and attention to signal, Capt. Griffin was able to throw several shot and shell at that immense range with good effect. Night however soon fell, firing ceased, but an impression prevailed amongst all who had been able to watch the enemy's movements up till dark, that an attack in force was imminent, and that it would in all probability be mainly directed on the right of camp and the outposts of that flank. In Keyes' position especially as being the highest and most exposed of these, special vigilance was observed, and the officers, Native and European, sat until late about their watchfires, talking over the probabilities of a fight on the morrow.

The position held at this time by the extreme left was a small irregular plain, in shape almost a parallelogram some two hundred yards in length, by about eighty in width, at a height of about 1,500 feet above the main camp. Three corners of this were occupied by mounds of considerable natural strength which formed the Keyes' 'Cliff' and 'Centre' Pickets on the side facing towards the south, and the 'Standard Picket' which overlooked the position below, and with the Cliff Picket strengthened the extremities of the long side of the post facing to the front and the Chumla valley. Slight breastworks had been constructed to unite these mounds, and they were held day and night by the 1st Punjab Native Infantry. High above this, and commanding both the *terre plein* and the pickets at its angles, the hill of the *Crag Picket*, afterwards well known to the



native portion of the force by the name of the Kuttul Ghur or slaughter-house. This, standing at a distance of about 200 yards from the Cliff and Centre Pickets, from which it was separated by a narrow ravine, was about 500 feet high, and crowned at the summit by a pile of perpendicular rocks some thirty feet in height, all but inaccessible from the side of the camp. The hill itself was exceedingly steep and covered with jungle, large pine trees, and rocks of considerable size, above which stood out the natural citadel alluded to. On the night in question it had been occupied by a small party of the 1st, as a post of observation only, twelve men under a non-commissioned Officer being placed there under cover of a stone breastwork and some fallen timber.

During the night the enemy silently approached the post and collected amongst the brushwood and ravines to its front and left, unobserved, in large numbers; the night being very dark with a cold wind blowing, they were enabled to organize a powerful storming party in its immediate neighbourhood; about half an hour before daybreak, under the leadership of a native officer of one of the mutinous sepoy regiments, they rushed up, drove out the feeble garrison, and, occupying the rocks to the number of between 200 and 300 men, at once commenced strengthening their position, and opened a matchlock fire, ineffectual only by reason of the darkness, on the pickets and regiment bivouacked below; the gallant Pathans of the 1st, though their expulsion had been somewhat of the suddenest, gave way no further than they were forced to do by direct weight of numbers, but taking up a position under the large rocks at the base of the citadel, opened fire on the enemy, called for support to their comrades below, and spite of the fire directed upon them, and the large stones hurled down by the enemy, manfully held their own.

Major Keyes was not the man to leave his soldiers for a moment in this strait, were it possible to assist them, and taking with him Lieutenant Fosbery who, happening to be in his camp, volunteered for this service, and about fifteen or twenty of the best men whom he could collect on the first alarm, at once proceeded over his breastwork and up the hill to their assistance, his Adjutant Lieutenant Pitcher with more men following at a short interval.

On arriving at the base of the rocks some nine men were found sheltering themselves as best they could from the missiles best poured on them from above, and returning the fire when an opportunity offered. Major Keyes placed his party in such cover as offered, and fresh men of his own corps with some few of the guides coming up, a fire was maintained on the top of the rock which however from the uncertain light did but little damage.

The pickets too below began firing, but from the same cause many of their bullets fell amongst the party they were intended to assist, who were thus exposed to fire both from front and rear. The enemy also bringing up large stones hurled them in great numbers from the top of the rocks, and these as well as the splinters they occasioned caused several severe hurts.

At last the day broke, and the shooting on both sides became more accurate, though there was not as yet light enough to enable the enemy to make out the small number of those immediately opposed to them. At no time were there more than between seventy-five and eighty men, and had the enemy become aware of their weakness, they would instantly have charged and by their mere weight must have forced so small a body down the hill, spite of any courage they might display: as it was, they probably imagined that their boldness and persistence could only be occasioned by numerical strength. Major Keyes fully appreciating the advantage given him by the conduct of his men during the darkness, and, aware that should the day break fully whilst they were still in the position they then occupied, the enemy could not fail to take the initiative, and that his regiment below moreover would besides be exposed to the plunging fire from the crag itself, determined to attack them there at all costs without delay, knowing that supports could not be far distant. He waited until the 20th Native Infantry entered the pickets below, and on Major Brownlow moving out to cover his right flank, gave the order to fix swords and charge; but here arose a formidable difficulty, for access to the crag itself could only be gained by two narrow and precipitous paths which admitted of only a single man passing up at a time, and the rocks above them were crowded with the enemy; the party however rushed at the ascent with a cheer and grappled with their difficulties as best they could; Major Keyes leading in front, Lieutenants Pitcher and Fosbery leading together on his right. Lieutenant Pitcher was knocked down and stunned on arriving at the base of the rocks, and the entire command of this side of the attack then devolved on his companion. All difficulties were after a time surmounted, and the top of the crag itself was gained, but many of the enemy refusing to stir and setting their backs against the rocks, died fighting to the last. The nature of the resistance experienced may be gathered from the fact that, whilst but twenty-five men at first accompanied their officers to the top of the rocks, sixty of the enemy's killed and wounded were picked up afterwards in and about the post, besides those who must have escaped or been carried off by their companions on their retreat.



Major Keyes had here a remarkable escape, one ball striking the hilt of his sword whilst held in front of his body, and doubling up the steel guard, another passing through his coat, whilst a third carried off two of the fingers of his left hand. Subadar Hubbeeb Khan, who accompanied him, displayed the greatest gallantry, receiving a slight wound, but repaying it, as did his commander, with heavy interest.

The daring courage which suggested to Major Keyes the making of this attack with his small party on so large a body of the enemy, strongly posted as they were, could scarcely have been rewarded with success, but for the consummate judgment with which the exact moment for the attempt was selected. His right flank being placed in comparative security, there was just light enough to enable his own men to see their way, and fight in the hand-to-hand conflict that was sure to ensue, and yet not enough to enable the enemy to discern the weakness of their assailants;—he seized the instant, stormed at once, and won the day.

The whole attack shows what may be accomplished in this species of warfare with seemingly most inadequate means by dash and judgment. Not that the risk run could have been justified under other than most exceptional circumstances; for had either of the European leaders been killed or disabled at the critical moment of the attack whilst compelled to head their parties, and while as yet unassisted by their men they were engaged hand-to-hand with the enemy, scarcely a man of the whole would have lived to tell the tale.

As it was on the position falling into Major Keyes' hands, the large body of the enemy who were waiting in the immediate neighbourhood for daylight sufficient to enable them to bring a fire on the pickets below, which must have rendered them all but untenable, received so heavy a loss and discouragement as to induce them to retire altogether. Their attack on the right of camp thus failed entirely. The original plan of the enemy is supposed to have included an assault on both flanks, and a simultaneous attack on the front defences of the main camp. That on the left flank was not made at all, probably owing to the loss experienced by them in their former attack on the Eagle's nest Picket on the 26th, which they must have observed to have been since then considerably strengthened; but a large body of men from the more distant tribes made a bold and powerful attack in front. Advancing under cover of the rocks and trees which filled the valley, and creeping from shelter to shelter, they occupied the ravines on either flank in force, and were then concealed from observation. On hearing the firing at the Crag

Picket, which for the few minutes immediately preceding the storm had been heavy and well sustained on both sides, they quitted their concealment and dashed at the breastwork, their keen swords whirling over their heads, and their heavy many-coloured standards fluttering like pennons with the cool morning breeze and the rush of the advance. As usual their marksmen judiciously posted, covered the charge of the sword and spear-men by a heavy fire. The latter on the right made a determined dash at Capt. Griffin's guns, but the rapid and well-directed fire of the heavy battery scattered them before it like chaff, though at one time they were nearly in through the embrasures. One man was knocked down and killed with the sponge staff whilst clutching at the muzzle of a nine-pounder and cutting at the men about the gun,—another killed by the officer in command, and a standard captured by the European gunners.

The 71st and 101st maintained a heavy file fire from the breastworks on either side, and the first charge failed.

Meantime the 5th Goorkha regiment had been brought up to the breastwork, and the little hillmen stood breathing heavily like hounds held in leash, their small eyes glittering with excitement, and their nervous fingers now and again twitching at the hilts of the deadly Kookries in their belts. Presently they got leave rather than an order to go, and dashed out in an instant; the pass however contained so many obstacles, and the ground was so broken, that what was at first a united charge became soon resolved into a series of isolated single combats. The enemy, starting up from the rocks and watercourses where they had hidden themselves from the grape and the fire of the Enfields, opposed them at every step in increasing numbers: on the left Lieutenant Blair of the Engineers, who accompanied the regiment out, gallantly engaged a Pathan of great stature in single combat, but the latter, covered with chain armour under his clothing, was proof against the regulation sword, and in the struggle which ensued both fell, the Pathan under. Some six of the enemy coming up at this instant were preparing to despatch the officer, but were killed in succession by three of the Goorkhas who were just in time to save him. On the right, where the ground was most broken, the charge was carried too far, the Goorkhas, pressing on in pursuit of the enemy dislodged by the first charge, became separated one from the other; and, entangled in the network of rock and jungle, and carried away by the excitement of the fight, could not be recalled before it was too late; the enemy, now safe from the fire of the camp itself, turned upon them and streaming down the hill sides took them in flank also, and the gallant corps had



at last to retire within the lines with heavy loss. It was not until evening that parties covered by marksmen from the hill side were able to recover the bodies of those killed on the occasion. When these were at last brought in, they were found to have been shockingly mutilated by the enemy, as if in revenge for the hasty retreat and loss which their charge had at first inflicted on them.

Those who saw the darkened faces of these dashing little soldiers as they gazed on the disfigured bodies of their dead comrades, watched their gestures, and heard the muttered curses which escaped them, rightly judged that it would fare ill with the Pathan when next he should stand to face them. Subsequently it appeared that these hillmen invariably so cut up the wounded of their enemy, not in the deliberate and barbarous manner practised by some in India with whom we have been brought in contact, but because in a charge every man of them as he passes near an enemy will make a blow at him or drive his spear through him as he goes, his being already dead making no difference; and when the party is a numerous one, this process results in apparently wanton mutilation. It also came to be known that when unable to carry off their own wounded, they would kill them themselves rather than permit them to be subjected to like treatment, which is habitual amongst these tribes in their frequent quarrels one with another. There is no reason to believe that any one of the wounded who fell into their hands throughout the operations was unnecessarily tortured, though instantly and without mercy despatched.

But the indignation excited amongst both the European and native regiments, who were not aware of this, was so deep that for the remainder of the campaign, quarter was never sought nor given for an instant, and it would have been useless for an officer to attempt to restrain the men. He could only turn his head and pass by on the other side. A story is told of one officer who, accompanying a column sent out to the ground of one of the late actions, observed a stir amongst some of the European soldiers on the hill-side, and a large group formed about some object on the ground. On ascending a rock above them a remarkable scene presented itself, in the centre lay the mutilated body of a slain comrade, and at its head stood a non-commissioned officer with a Testament in his hand. Man after man of the group came up, and to each a solemn oath was administered on the book and the body, that from that hour out, they would neither save nor spare, but pay the bloody debt to the uttermost. We gather that the oath was well kept, and that many a tall

Pathan, recreant sepoy, and fanatic Moslem read his fate in the stern eyes and pale compressed lips of those who had sworn to give no mercy.

The remainder of the day passed off in quiet, and the night was undisturbed, but the morning showed the hills to be studded with the outposts of the enemy, and the dense cover on their sides to be here and there occupied by marksmen, who now and for many days afterwards returned each morning from their camp or village almost to the same spot and harassed the defenders with a desultory but accurate fire. At times, a demonstration was made by the enemy who, crowding out of the village and ravines in its neighbourhood, formed into irregular columns on the plain to its front, and could be seen waving their standards, flourishing their swords, and firing matchlocks, as is their way when about to commence a forward movement. Sometimes they would advance into the pass and plant their standards within range of the works, but the Enfield bullet and the Enfield shell, with an occasional round of shrapnell from the heavy battery, soon taught them the limits within which it was unsafe to venture, and after a time, unless meditating an attack in force, they confined themselves to demonstrations which exposed them to comparatively little danger, and yet sufficiently indicated their strength which daily seemed on the increase. Occasionally a few fresh standards, or a body of men with some peculiarity of dress which, though almost imperceptible to European eyes, was at once recognized by our Pathan soldiery, would appear amongst them, and thus it came to be known, independently of the reports of our spies, that the war was attracting recruits from districts more and more distant from the scene of operations.

It had now become evident that to attempt to force a passage through the lower portion of the pass in the face of these men could not fail to expose the column to severe loss, and that it would scarcely be possible to get the baggage and commissariat into the plain by this route at all. The whole of the road by which Colonel Probyn had descended on the first reconnaissance was commanded from the slopes of the Goroo Mountain, which from its height it would have been impossible to crown, and from its extent to hold in force sufficient for the purpose. The communications also by the way of the Umbeyla Pass with the Eusofzaie daily seemed to be less secure, and had the enemy by making a detour in rear of the mountain descended in force upon one of the defensible portions of the pass, a serious interruption must have ensued, besides which the detaching of troops who could ill be spared from the main body,



for its recapture and subsequent defence, would have involved much loss of life, delay, and inconvenience. The force then, thus occupying a section of the pass some 500 yards in length, could no longer securely use either portion of the remainder for the passage of its supplies or its own advance.

The Boneyrwal moreover bitterly complained of the occupation by our pickets of the slopes of the Goroo Mountain, and dreaded some attempt to occupy the summit. This would have given to General Chamberlain the command of their pass and country, which they persisted in believing or pretending they believed to be his object; and they therefore continued to maintain a large force in their works above the Eagle's nest and annoy the whole of the pickets on this side by a continuous fire.

To reply to this efficiently at all points was from the length of front difficult in the extreme, and the marksmen employed in doing so had to be despatched from point to point of the hill sides to keep down the fire wherever it became most troublesome. The enemy occupied as a rule most excellent cover, specially guarding the side from which they expected danger. These men, however, posting themselves carefully at considerable distances apart, embarrassed them by replying to the fire of each point by shots simultaneously directed on it from either extremity of their line, after perhaps calling attention to its centre, and, becoming cunning stalkers as well as cautious shots, often succeeded in killing their man, or compelling him and his companions to quit their position altogether.

It was evident however that such a state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and it became necessary to find a fresh passage to the plain in front, for the ultimate advance of the army, as well as a new line of communication with the Eusofzaie and its base of operations. As the enemy now apparently intended confining himself for some time to come to this desultory mode of fighting, the General was able to employ a large number of men in making or improving roads and defences and detaching surveying parties in search of the new passages to the plain required. The energy and success with which these operations were carried out seems to reflect the greatest credit on all concerned. Miles of good road over rocky and most difficult ground were constructed, and hundreds of yards of substantial stone breast-work thrown up or strengthened. And the Regiments of Musbee Sikhs, on whom much of the heavy work fell, after a hard day's work, sometimes at great distances from their camp, would proceed to the night duties of the position with cheerfulness and alacrity.

A curious circumstance had now come to be noted; which explains to a certain extent both the occasional respite given to the force from anything but a more or less distant fire, and the periodical and determined assaults which it experienced. As it is likely to become traditional amongst the frontier tribes, we record it for the benefit of those who may be engaged in future operations against them. This was their final adoption of Thursday night and Friday until evening, as the period for the commencement and close of any great attack, for which the reason appears to be correctly given as follows:—  
'Before death it behoves every good Mussulman to repeat a certain prayer, failing which his soul is supposed to suffer certain grave inconveniences and delays on this side Paradise, unless the omission should take place during the Mussulman sabbath, when the precaution may be safely neglected. Now in their wars between one another, not only is the slaughter comparatively trifling, but a sword wound, or that made by the small matchlock ball, is seldom so instantly fatal as to preclude the performance of the necessary rite. In their engagements with us however they found our shot, shell, Enfields, grape, and shrapnell, to be less considerate, and many a pious worshipper of the Prophet was in consequence doomed to miss the embraces of the Houris which he had died to win. There was but one remedy,—to dispense with the prayer altogether; and after their first experiences of the effects of our fire, they fought on their sabbath accordingly.'

These interruptions proved welcome to the force, and in the intervals the Engineering operations rapidly advanced towards completion. Permouli was selected as the depôt in the Eusofzaie in place of Roostum bazar. The pass of Kanpoor or Sherdurra was cleared and made practicable, and a road constructed to connect it with the heights on the right of the camp. This was continued along the sides of the hills under Major Keyes' position and, carried on between the upper and centre pickets, was pushed gradually forwards to the front at a safe distance from the Goroo Mountain. Large working parties from the European Regiments were employed in its construction, and, covered by strong parties of both European and native troops, made rapid progress towards the plain. Whilst this was going on another Friday intervened. The enemy finding the usual covering parties at a more than usual distance from camp, discovering also in all probability what must be the ultimate result of the work in hand, should it be carried to completion, came up in force to the attack. The covering parties, at a distance from all support, became involved in a struggle from which to retreat



down the side of the ridge on which they were placed, would have been to be annihilated, and suffered severely, losing seventy-nine killed and wounded, including five officers; Major Harding who commanded the party was killed, and it has been exceedingly difficult to obtain anything like a connected account of occurrences, regarding which the despatches are unusually reticent. There can be no doubt whatever that, had General Chamberlain's orders been literally carried out at the time they were delivered, the loss experienced would have been trifling in the extreme, but certain delays took place, and the distance from camp, the impossibility of observing from thence what was occurring to the front, and supporting promptly those engaged, together with the momentarily increasing force of the enemy and the close and heavy fire which they maintained, entailed a misfortune, which but for the determined courage of Major Harding, and the gallantry displayed by some of the officers and men on the summit of the hill above, might well have become a serious disaster. We shall in our next number proceed to give such particulars as we have been able to collect, assigning to each as far as possible its correct time and place, and its bearing on the general events of the day.

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ART. XI.—*The First Bengal Agricultural Exhibition.*

**A**MONG the various measures adopted by Government for the development of the natural resources of India, and for the promotion and improvement of the agricultural industry of the country, the Bengal Agricultural Exhibition of 1864 holds a prominent place. Though a number of books have been published from time to time bearing on the productive resources of India, they chiefly related either to particular productions or localities, but they did not afford any information as to the productive capabilities of the whole of India, and even those works which have made their appearance, were wanting in those statistical and other details, which supported by official authentication, might have been the means of attracting the attention of practical men, disposed to embark their capital in local industrial enterprise. It is true, that in the course of official routine, much valuable information was collected and furnished to Government by many of its civil and military servants. Such information was duly forwarded to the Court of Directors of the East India Company; but somehow or other hardly any use was ever made of it, all the correspondence having generally been buried among the mass of records stored away in the New Street Warehouse, Bishopsgate Street. This is no exaggeration, and in corroboration of our assertion, we may instance the valuable collection of samples of manufactured articles sold in the Bazars of Scinde, forwarded by Sir Bartle Frere, the then Commissioner of the Province. The boxes on arrival in England were transferred to the warehouse, and would in all probability have remained there without further notice, had not the search for certain missing articles in 1855 led to their accidental discovery, when the despatch accompanying their transmission was called for, and it was then found, that the object of collecting and forwarding the samples in question was to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Court to the fact that a large portion of the more valuable fabrics sold in the Bazars of Scinde, were imported from Russia, though no one could tell the route by which they travelled, or the manner in which they were smuggled into the country. Such was also the case with reference to several other important communications bearing on the productions and commerce of India, which were shelved among a heap of useless records, merely because there



was nobody in the India House sufficiently interested in the matter, to give it his individual attention. Outsiders on the other hand were debarred access to information, which, if carefully worked out by practical men, and published by authority of the 'Honourable Court' might have resulted in the immigration of a number of interlopers; a result most decidedly opposed to the policy of the East India Company. Indeed the only work worth noticing, published under the auspices of the Court of Directors, and compiled from official documents, is the late Dr. Royle's book on the 'Productive Resources of India' which made its appearance in 1840; yet even in this work, the information it contains is chiefly limited to the cultivation of certain vegetable products, either forming a monopoly of the East India Company, or experimentally tried at the Government Botanical Gardens at Saharunpore and Calcutta, and certainly it most woefully disappoints the reader in the expectations which the title of the book may have induced him to indulge in.

The result of this disinclination on the part of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to give publicity to the information furnished to them by their own servants, was, that the actual capabilities of the productive resources of India, remained a complete mystery, not only to the world at large, but to the Directors themselves. There were many men most anxious to study the industrial products of India, but they could not obtain reliable collective information, and there appeared such a reluctance on the part of the East India Company to encourage their researches, or to afford them the least assistance, that any attempt to obtain the desired information through official sources had at once to be given up as hopeless. It followed therefore that people not only in Europe, but in England itself, knew less of India than of any other country on earth under a Christian Government, and the knowledge of its productive capabilities and natural resources, appears to have been limited to the comparatively few staple products, for which there existed a regular demand in the home markets.

How long this incomprehensible policy of the East India Company would have continued to act so prejudicially to the interests of India, it is somewhat difficult to say, but it was generally assumed that any radical change for the better, could only be looked for in a future generation. An event however occurred, which tended greatly to accelerate the arrival of the desired change, and which in its practical results has been the means of making the world at large better acquainted in six months with the results and the productive resources of India, than the East India Company, even, if disposed to do so, could have accomplished.

ed during the whole time of its tenure of India. We refer to the Exhibition of the works of art and industry of the world held in London in 1851. The man, with whom the idea of such Exhibition originated, had probably no conception himself, of the real extent of the benefits it would confer upon the world at large. The idea of a general Exhibition of the productions of the world, embracing every branch of industry and art, was so novel in itself, that it took every one by surprise, whilst the shortness of the period within which collections of such products were to be made and to be forwarded for display at the 'World's Fair' hardly allowed sufficient time to reflect, whether the Exhibition of 1851 was intended to represent only the results of the industry and art of the present age, or also those of any previous period. To this doubt perhaps, the extraordinary success of the Exhibition of 1851 may be chiefly ascribed; and we shall confine our remarks on that head to the collection forwarded from India.

There cannot be any doubt that in India the real scope and object of the Exhibition was not understood. The general impression was, that a collection had to be made of every thing that could be found in each district, and hence the Indian Department consisted of a heterogeneous assortment of specimens more suitable for a great Museum than a fair at which the productions of the world were to be brought together for honourable competition. But this very circumstance has in its practical results done an immense deal of good, for it has been the means of showing not only what India produced at that time, but what it was capable of producing in former years. Those who laboured under the impression that they possessed a thorough knowledge of the productions of art and industry of India, were completely amazed at the variety of specimens exhibited, of the existence of which they had not the remotest idea. The richness and exquisite fineness of the textile fabrics;—the beautiful blending of colours;—the elegance of works in precious metals;—the classic forms of articles of pottery;—the magnificent enamels on gold, silver, and glass;—the costly and splendid assortment of arms;—the Kuftgoree work on steel inlaid with gold;—the enamelled turnery;—the *papier maché* work;—the mosaics;—the specimens of sculpture in ebony, sandalwood, soapstone, ivory, and marble;—the filagree work in gold and silver;—the embroideries on velvet, silk, and cotton;—the specimens of plastic art,—all of these took every one completely by surprise, but that surprise was still further heightened by the display of the tools and implements used by native artizans in the production of the most delicate and exquisite works of art and industry. The ques-



tion which forced itself upon the mind of every one was, 'If the natives of India can produce these magnificent things with such primitive tools, what would they not be able to accomplish if they adopted modern implements and appliances?'

Not less was the surprise with regard to the natural productions of India. The collection on view showed that the capabilities of the country, whether viewed in reference to the mineral animal or vegetable resources, afforded an almost unlimited field for the employment of European skill, energy, and capital. The display of agricultural and other implements on being compared with similar specimens collected during half a century and shown in the Museum at the India House in Leadenhall Street, afforded an undeniable proof that the same primitive appliances which had been in use almost a century ago, had descended to the present generation. There were no signs of the least improvement, and indeed it appeared as if each caste had most industriously studied to preserve the same kind of tools and implements as were employed by their forefathers. Yet with these simple appliances, the natural productions of the country, whether animal, mineral, or vegetable, were converted into marketable commodities, many of which proved important staples of export and of coasting trade, whilst several of the productions of the loom challenged comparison with the finest fabrics of Europe, though the latter were produced by the aid of exquisite machines. The Exhibition of 1851 was thus the means of bringing for the first time to the notice of the world not only the works of the industry and art of India, but also the tools and implements with which they were produced; but beyond this, India derived no substantial benefits from the first Universal Exhibition of the world's productions.

An event however occurred a few years afterwards, which for the first time induced England to look to India for a supply of materials, for which the home manufactures had to depend upon importation from abroad. We refer to the war with Russia. At that precise moment Dr. Royle brought forth his valuable work on 'The Fibrous Plants of India,' and as it was compiled from the official information which accompanied the specimens of fibres forwarded from India to the London Exhibition of 1851, and supported by a report of the results of the practical tests to which such specimens had been subjected, the work attracted considerable attention, for it most undoubtedly proved that if the least encouragement were afforded to private enterprise, India would be capable of furnishing almost the whole of the raw material required by the English manufacturer for the purpose of cordage, paper, &c. Dr. Royle's work made its appearance in 1855, and the 'Exposition Universelle' in Paris afforded

an excellent opportunity of practically proving every assertion made by the learned author. In connection with the specimens of fibres arranged according to their natural order, was shown the cordage obtained from them by practical test, with reports of competent judges as to its capacities of strength and tension, as well as specimens of paper, &c., and the result of this was a most surprising impulse given to the export of jute and other fibrous productions from India in the following and subsequent years.

But the collection which appeared to cause special attraction among men interested in the productions of India was that of agricultural implements and machinery. It did not consist of models only, but of implements which had been actually used by Indian agriculturists. Their primitiveness and simplicity, when viewed in connection with the splendid specimens of produce on view, at once led to the conviction, that that produce was rather the result of the natural advantages of a rich soil and climate than of any aid that it could have received at the hands of the agriculturist, and people naturally enough argued that if a soil cultivated by such rude and primitive implements yielded the specimens on view, none could tell what might be expected from it by the application and working of improved implements on scientific principles. It was a question of great importance and well worth a trial, and there were people ready and willing to try it. Ploughs, cultivators, grubbers, scarifiers, harrows, clod-crushers, hoeing, drilling, sowing, reaping, and mowing machines with a variety of other agricultural machinery were constructed and sent out to India, but somehow or other they disappointed expectations. Modifications and alterations suited to local requirements were then devised, but even with these the implements did not appear to answer in their practical working, and it became clear that if the cultivator of the soil ever expected to adopt those modern implements and appliances, which have been worked with such decided success in England and America, he must have a better and stronger description of cattle.

In the mean time the inferiority of the cattle of Bengal had attracted considerable attention, and it was specially noticed that of late years the cattle had deteriorated in an alarming ratio. Various were the causes to which the existence of this evil was ascribed, and no end of suggestions were offered for remedying it. All however agreed that some immediate steps ought to be taken to avert a serious calamity which threatened the Indian agriculturist, and the prevalent idea was that the introduction of cross-breeds would be the most effectual and cheapest means of improving



the cattle of the country within a comparatively short period. Those however, who, not directly interested in agricultural pursuits, did not implicitly follow the tide of opinion, and could look upon the matter more calmly, thought that before arriving at a definite opinion it would be desirable to enquire not only into the causes of the alleged deterioration of the cattle, but also to ascertain whether it was confined to particular districts or general to all Bengal, and to get information as to the results obtained by the already experimental introduction of cross-breeds.

The information thus collected established three important facts: *first*, that the deterioration of the cattle of Bengal was more general than anticipated; *secondly*, that as far as the ryot was concerned, this deterioration was chiefly owing to overwork and comparative starvation of the animals; and *thirdly*, that cross-breeds, though eminently successful when tried, for every purposes, afforded no criterion as to the practicability of their general introduction as draught cattle amongst the actual tillers of the soil, since the experiments tried were undertaken by wealthy Zemindars and other private individuals, whose sole object was to show the improvement that could be effected in the cattle of the country by cross-breeds, and to whom the cost of production and the subsequent expense of food were only of secondary consideration. Still, notwithstanding all this information, all parties were agreed that some steps must be taken to devise measures for relieving the agriculturist from an evil that pretended disaster not only to him, but to the million to which cheap and good food were a matter of life and death.

This state of things being represented to the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, His Honour at once comprehended the importance of the question; but before deciding upon the action which Government were to take in the matter, it appeared to him that it would be very desirable to ascertain first what description of animals the different parts of the country actually produced, as such would at once show the result of ordinary local breeds as well as of that of cross-breeds. A great show of cattle, and of the produce of each district, appeared best calculated to attain that object, and this suggested the holding of an Agricultural Exhibition at the Presidency.

The idea once started, soon expanded into a larger sphere. The complaints made only referred to the inferiority and deterioration of cattle used for agricultural purposes, but in order to enable people to form a more correct view on that point, it certainly was a matter of importance to ascertain not only *the actual work* which the animals had to perform, but also the

results obtained by such work. This necessitated the display of a collection of agricultural implements, such as were used by native cultivators of the soil, as well as of specimens of the produce obtained by the process of agriculture hitherto in practice. It was therefore resolved, that the contemplated cattle show should comprise specimens of live stock, agricultural implements, and produce.

No sooner did the intention of Government to hold an Agricultural Exhibition become known, than a number of European agents for manufacturers at home expressed a desire to be permitted to exhibit a variety of agricultural machinery and implements, such as have already been introduced into practical use in England and America, and which in their opinion might be employed with equal advantage in India. The request was complied with, a programme prepared, and a Central Committee appointed at the Presidency, which with the aid of local Committees at each district, was to work out the scheme. The originally contemplated Cattle-show thus swelled into an Exhibition of live stock, of agricultural machinery, both European and Native, and of the produce of the soil. A list of prizes for particular specimens under the three great classes was drawn up, and Government at once placed for that particular purpose at the disposal of the Judges who were to award prizes, the liberal sum of 30,000 Rupees. Numerous extra prizes were subscribed for at the Presidency, and the announcement of the First Bengal Agricultural Exhibition in 1864 was hailed as a move in the right direction by all classes of the community.

The undertaking being thus fairly started, local Committees were appointed at each of the districts of Bengal, and they were desired to explain the object of the Exhibition to the residents of the districts, and invite their co-operation. Considering the novelty of the undertaking and the suspicion it might rouse in the native mind as to the objects Government might have in view, it was particularly necessary that every doubt on the latter point should be removed, and that in explaining the real scope of the Exhibition, it should be clearly shown to the natives, that the results expected from the same must chiefly benefit themselves. How far these instructions were carried out or produced the desired effect, is difficult to say, but it appears that the prevailing impression among native as well as European Mofussil residents was, that the co-operation sought by Government consisted in getting people to subscribe money prizes, and this impression seemed to gain ground by the fact, that the names of all subscribers or donors of prizes were regularly published in the *Calcutta Gazette* under the orders of



Government. Native officials moreover thought that by contributing prizes to the Exhibition, they would please Government and bring themselves to favourable notice, and the result of all this was, that whilst money prizes came forth freely from every district, the real aim of the co-operation invited, was neither understood nor attained.

The month of August had drawn to a close, and the Central Committee, notwithstanding the indefatigable exertions of the Secretary Mr. Crawford, after six months' labour, found themselves in the predicament, that with a very extensive list of prizes offered for a variety of specimens of live stock, machinery, and produce, it was extremely doubtful how many of the specimens themselves, for which liberal awards were offered, would be forthcoming. No returns had up to that time been received from any of the local Committees, and indeed the prospects of the contemplated Agricultural Exhibition were most discouraging. The Central Committee, however, notwithstanding this drawback, did not relax in their exertions, and strengthened by the appointment of Mr. Dowle as Joint Honorary Secretary, a gentleman whose practical experience in matters of Exhibitions was of great value, made another effort to secure success.

On reviewing the various proceedings connected with the undertaking, it became clear that its real scope and object were not understood in the Provinces. It was also evident that in order to secure success and attain the benefits expected to result from the Exhibition, two things were most essential: *first*, contributions of specimens in the various classes from all parts of the country; *secondly*, a concourse of people interested in agricultural pursuits, to see the collection on view, and to judge for themselves by comparison of the respective merits of each district. It also appeared to be a most desirable object, that Zemindars should be induced to send down their ryots to the Exhibition, that they might see the various descriptions of agricultural implements used in the different parts of the country. In pursuance of these objects the local Committees were again requested to lose no opportunity of explaining to the native community the real scope of the Exhibition, to set their minds at ease as to any erroneous impressions that might have existed as to the real intentions of Government, and moreover to make them fully understand, that the co-operation to which they were invited, consisted not in the subscription of prizes, but in contributions of the best specimens of live stock, implements, and produce peculiar to their respective districts, for which liberal money prizes were offered by Government. These instructions issued by the Central Committee, and strongly backed by His Honour the Lieute-

nant-Governor of Bengal, produced the desired effect. The Exhibition which a short time previously appeared a hopeless task, now held forth indubitable promises of success. Returns of contributions tendered poured in from all parts, and even Madras, British Burmah, the Straits Settlements, the North-Western Provinces, and Oude, intimated their intention of forwarding specimens of live stock, implements, and produce for competition. In addition to these, advices were received from England of a variety of machines and implements already on their way out to India, and the Central Committee which but two months before were at a loss how to fill the sheds, were now labouring under an '*embarras des richesses*.'

After the hearty manner in which the appeal to contributors was responded to, it would have been cruel to disappoint them, and it therefore became necessary to provide for accommodation in excess of that originally contemplated. Another consideration forced itself upon the attention of the Central Committee, namely, the large collection of agricultural machinery and implements expected from Europe. If the cattle of Bengal had really so much deteriorated as described, and if European agricultural implements were in reality so much better adapted to the requirements of the country, it was clear that in order to convince the native cultivator of these facts, something more than a mere display of machinery and implements was wanted. The Central Committee therefore decided, that machinery should be exhibited in working order, and that the various agricultural implements should be practically tested. Arrangements were made accordingly, and with these views sheds covered with corrugated iron to guard against accidents by fire were erected, steam boilers planted, a chimney built, and the required shafting fixed, and a special day was set apart for trying the steam ploughs. In fact everything that possibly could be thought of to secure the success of the undertaking, was most carefully provided for.

All those arrangements being made known through the posting of large placards in English, Bengalee, and Oordoo at all the railway stations and thannahs of Bengal, attracted considerable attention among the very classes for which chiefly intended. No further contributions of specimens were asked for, and it was distinctly explained that no money prizes were required. Zemindars and other wealthy native gentlemen begun to comprehend somewhat the object in view, although they could not altogether free their minds from the suspicion that beyond the avowed scope and object of the Exhibition, Government might be actuated by some ulterior motive, and indeed many a native



landholder would in all probability have hesitated whether to come to Calcutta or not, had not the Lieut.-Governor with admirable tact hit upon a plan which settled that point at once. The Commissioners of the several Divisions were directed to invite the native nobility and gentry residing within their circle to the Exhibition, with an intimation that His Honour the Lieut.-Governor would hold a Durbar. This latter was irresistible, and we fear that there might not be sufficient accommodation available in Calcutta for so large a number of visitors, especially near the Exhibition, applications came in from all parts for space whereon to pitch tents for such as were coming down with large retinues of native servants.

All arrangements having thus been completed, the Exhibition was opened on the appointed day by the Governor-General in person. It is not to our purpose to enter here into the details of the opening ceremony, and it will suffice to say that it was most successful, witnessed by the whole of the *élite* of Calcutta, and marked by the presence of a large number of the native nobility and gentry both of the town and the Provinces. As the Governor-General and suite, and the visitors passed through the various Departments of the Exhibition among the sound of the bands of music that were playing, it must have been gratifying to the members of the Committee to see the satisfaction depicted on the faces of the visitors and the astonishment of the natives at the sight which the Exhibition presented to them. Every thing that possibly could be thought of for the instruction, amusement, and comfort of visitors, was most carefully provided, and bore testimony to the successful exertions of the master-hand that sketched out the organization of the undertaking, and superintended its practical working.

But in thus according a well-merited tribute to the colours of the Central Committee, it cannot be denied that the official opening of the Exhibition was not exactly the thing which it ought to have been. Considering that the undertaking was the first of its kind ever attempted in this part of the world, and considering the pains that were taken not only in explaining its real scope and object to the natives of the country, but moreover to enlist their hearty co-operation, and that the noblemen and native gentry were specially invited in the name of the Lieutenant-Governor to come and see the Exhibition, and that the Commissioners of the several Divisions were ordered to Calcutta to be present on the occasion, we maintain that it would have been a matter of policy to have given a greater *éclat* to the opening ceremony. The natives of India are fond of *ostentatious* displays, and the opportunity of gratifying them

ought not to have been lost. There is no doubt that the fact of the Governor-General opening the Exhibition was an unmistakeable proof of the interest taken by His Excellency in the undertaking, but we venture to assert that the native visitors who came from different parts of the country would have been much more strongly impressed with that fact, and more convinced of the importance which Government attached to this first Exhibition, had the Governor-General and Staff, and the Lieutenant-Governor and suite made their appearance in full uniform, and thereby converted the official opening of the Exhibition into a state ceremony. If the importance of the appearance all officials connected with the International Exhibition of 1862 in London in their official costume was recognised by the Imperial Commissioners in England, surely it would have been a matter of policy to follow the same course in India, more especially if it be considered that with reference to future Exhibitions, it was an object to create the most favourable impression upon the native mind; an impression, which past experience tells us, is much more effectually produced by *Tamashas*, than by a quiet unostentatious proceeding. There is no question that the Punjab authorities managed that part of the Lahore Exhibition much better than we did in Bengal. We are aware that the subject of opening the Exhibition with a state ceremonial had been under consideration, and that it was negatived on the ground, that such exhibitions in England never partake of an official character. We submit that there is no analogy in that respect between England and India. In England cattle shows and other agricultural exhibitions are regularly undertaken by private societies who bear the whole expense themselves, whilst the first Bengal Agricultural Exhibition was an enterprise originated by Government, and its expense defrayed out of the revenues of the country.

Having thus explained the details connected with the origin of the Exhibition and the various stages through which it passed until the opening day, our next task is to consider the actual results which have already been produced, as well as those which may fairly be expected to be attained in the course of a few years. These results we propose to review in their economical, social, and political bearings, each of which is deserving of attention, not only at the hands of Government, but of all those who have the real interest of India and the development of her agricultural resources earnestly at heart.

With regard to the first, it is undeniable that the Exhibition has proved a complete success. People, whose ideas of husbandry had been confined to the practices in vogue in the districts



in which their families lived for generations; who know nothing of the productive capabilities of other parts of the country; of the different processes employed in agriculture; of the implements used, and of the cattle which breeding establishments produced, in different districts of India, came to the Exhibition and saw an epitome of the agricultural industry not only of Bengal, but also of the North-Western Provinces, of Oude, Madras, British Burmah, and the Straits Settlements. They moreover witnessed the practical working of machinery and implements already successfully used in Europe, and thus they had for the first time an opportunity of personally judging of the respective merits not only of the results of the process of agriculture practised in various localities of India, but also of the advantages to be attained from the application of European machinery and implements. Here were grain, pulse, tubers, fibres, silks, dyes, oilseeds, tobacco, tea, and sugarcane, all arranged in classes, and the visitors thus saw at one glance the identical productions from the many different parts of the country and could compare their respective merits. Struck by the superiority of several specimens, their curiosity was excited as to the implements used in their production and the kind of cattle employed for the purpose. This led to an examination of the various agricultural implements used in different parts of the country as well as to the cattle bred in the various districts. The result of this examination was that native visitors from the Mofussil returned to their homes fully impressed with the recollection of what they had seen; and they were for the first time made aware that the implements handed down to them by their forefathers, were no longer suited to the requirements of the present age, and that to raise crops which would stand competition with similar produce of other places they must substitute better machinery, and improve their ordinary processes of agriculture. They moreover discovered the great difference in the market value between superior and inferior produce, and the great gain that must accrue to them by the adoption of such of the improvements as came within their means. In short, the native agriculturist has learnt the wholesome lesson, that by the application of better implements and by greater attention to the various processes of agriculture, the same space of land may be made to yield a much larger crop and of a decidedly better quality. These remarks apply to the actual tiller of the soil, the ryot, whose means are generally very limited, but whose desire to get the utmost return for his labour and for the rent he pays, is not less than that of the landholder to make his zemindaries as profitable as possible.

As for the wealthy landowners who carry on cultivation on their own account, the European machinery and implements proved of almost incredible attraction and interest. The practical trials at the Exhibition convinced them beyond doubt of the superior results to be attained by the application of modern implements, and they saw another most unquestionable proof of the advantages derived from the employment of steam-power for various purposes connected with agricultural pursuits. Their experience already taught them that railways save time, and that saving time is saving money; and now they had another proof before them of what steam could effect with regard to agriculture. But with the suspicion, so strongly inherent in the native mind, whenever questions of improvement arise which threaten to upset old established practices or interfere with traditionary notions bequeathed by generation to generation, a reluctance prevailed to adopt for practical purposes, machinery and implements, which notwithstanding the unmistakable results they showed at the trials at the Exhibition, involve a money outlay and might after all have only been got up for the temporary purposes of the Agricultural show. We are willing to make due allowance for this feeling considering the novelty of the undertaking, but, thanks to the spread of civilization and the march of intellect, there were a good many native gentlemen above such suspicions, ready to incur considerable outlay in the purchase of machinery and implements, with a view to test their merits in practical agriculture. The large sales effected by Exhibitors during the fortnight that the Exhibition was open, afford an undeniable proof of our assertion. If we then take into consideration, that the Exhibition has been the means of exciting the curiosity of those who, naturally averse to innovation of any kind, stuck to old traditionary customs;—that this curiosity induced them to examine the various implements on view, and to compare them with those they had hitherto been in the habit of using;—and that large purchases have been made not only of such implements but even of machinery for the purpose of testing and eventual practical adoption;—we maintain that with regard to its economical bearings, the Exhibition has been as successful as it will prove beneficial to the country.

And there cannot be the remotest doubt that it has been equally so in a social point of view. It is well known that natives have the greatest aversion to leaving their homes and travelling to some distance. While even to proceed on a pilgrimage requires considerable resolution and a good deal of preparation, how much more must have been their objection to travel all the



way to Calcutta, for a purpose the object of which was beyond the comprehension of the majority. The prevalent impression appears to have been that the Exhibition was to be a sort of great *Mela* or fair, at which Government exposed for sale a variety of livestock, machinery, and produce, which those invited to come down, were expected to purchase. The rule of restricting the produce to be exhibited to mere samples of limited quantities, appeared to puzzle many, for they argued not inappropriately, that if the Exhibition was to be, as they imagined, a great fair, why should people wishing to bring their produce on sale, be restricted to such small quantities? On the other hand it seemed equally incomprehensible, why such large prizes should be offered for the *best* specimens exhibited in limited quantities, when in the opinion of the cultivators, those prizes ought to have been held out to such as could produce the *largest* quantity irrespective of quality. However the fact of prizes aggregating Rupees thirty thousand being offered by Government, whilst a further inducement was held out by the subscription of numerous local prizes, produced the desired effect, and whilst there was a large number of people ready to come forward and compete for such prizes, the more intelligent class of natives determined to come and see the result of such competition. Moreover many of the wealthy Zemindars sent their ryots to the Exhibition, well aware that if the Exhibition was really in any way to be the means of promoting the agricultural interests of Bengal, it was of paramount importance to interest the actual tiller of the soil,—the ryot, in any process, by which, whilst immediately benefiting himself, he indirectly contributed to the prosperity of his landlord—the Zemindar.

This combination of varied motives for seeing the Exhibition produced a result far beyond what was ever anticipated. The Show having been limited to a week, every one was anxious to be down at Calcutta in due time, and the consequence was, that during the whole of that period people were gathered from various parts of the country, whose positions in life, ordinary occupations, and variety of castes, comprised such a heterogeneous mass, as probably never before met in any one particular place in India. At first there was a marked distinction observed between the various native visitors, and each class kept carefully to itself. Each native Prince with his retinue formed his own party; so did the Talookdars, Zemindars, and other native gentlemen of respectability, but in the eagerness to see the wonderful working of the machinery, of the fountains, and of the effects produced by steam power, all pressed forward, irrespective of position or rank, to get the best place whence to get a good

sight, and thus high and low, rich and poor, stood side by side, forgetting all distinction of rank or caste, and actually entering into a mutual expression of their own views. Nawabs, Maharajahs, Rajahs, Talookdars, Zemindars, Shroffs, Mechanics, Clerks, and Sirkars, appeared to form but one large party, and to mix together as if they all belonged to but one class; and when fatigued by the constant and long walks which the inspection of the wonders before them necessitated, they retired to the large tent to rest themselves, here again all distinction vanished, each considered himself fortunate in getting a chair, regardless of who the person might be, who occupied the one next to him. Meeting in the same manner almost day by day, all became more familiarized to each other, and the high nobleman, who according to the customs of the country, perhaps never in his life before condescended to speak to an inferior except through the medium of his Dewān, was on the closing day of the Exhibition seen conversing freely with people regardless whom they might be or where they came from. The Exhibition therefore has produced a sort of social revolution, which must be regarded as the second practical step (railroads being the first) towards the attainment of that reform in the relations between man and man, which is absolutely required to raise the native of this country, and the absence of which has hitherto proved a formidable bar to the intellectual, moral, as well as industrial advancement of India, and to the development of her natural resources and consequent prosperity.

And now we come to the political results produced by the late Exhibition; results which in all probability have never been dreamt of, but which forced themselves into existence by the very results of the undertaking. Industry, whatever its particular branch may be, can only flourish under the fostering auspices of peace. Its stability, its further development, and its extension to distant parts of the world by the interchange of commodities, are all dependent upon Peace. Commerce thus forms the great chain which engirdles the industry of the world, and in which the industries of the various nations constitute the connecting links. It is a practical proof of the French saying '*l'union fait la force*;' it is a sort of Masonry, which shorn of its mysteries and paraphernalias, unites mankind into one common bond of fraternity and good will; and strengthened by personal interest, as well as incited by a spirit of honourable competition, brings forth the actual productive capacities of each country. In raw materials we see the productions on which human industry is employed. In machinery we perceive the agents which human ingenuity brings to bear upon the



products of nature. In manufactures we see the results produced by the operation of industry upon natural produce; whilst sculpture, models, and the plastic arts illustrate the taste and skill displayed by the several nations of the world in the application of human industry. Where the field for competition embraces such a large variety of subjects, and the awards of Juries are limited to a specific number, disappointment in many instances is unavoidable, and in fact anticipated, yet it will in no way check the spirit of competition, for each nation is sure to produce or exhibit some specimen or other, which will outrival all other. The result is a strict inquiry into the means, by which the most perfect specimens are produced, and thus another proof is afforded of the old saying, 'We live to learn.'

The Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862 in London and the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris of 1855 clearly proved that the great progress made within the present century in bringing the productions of the soil to their present state of perfection, is almost entirely due to the application of science to practical agriculture. The Bengal Agricultural Exhibition of 1864 showed the people of this country these modern appliances as well as the results obtained therefrom, and they did not fail to appreciate them. But the same people were calculating people, and they soon found out that costly machinery and implements, however much they might aid in increasing the annual yield of crops, and in improving the quality of the produce, required in the first instance a heavy outlay, which could only be recovered gradually out of the increased annual profits, and that therefore several years must elapse before the full substantial benefits could be derived from such adoption. They were likewise alive to the fact that to attain such an end, they must be allowed to pursue their vocation peacefully and uninterruptedly for a number of years, for an outbreak, a mutiny, or a rebellion might lead to the destruction of all machinery and cause the ruin of its owners. Yet after giving due weight to all these considerations, there were a good many native gentlemen, who purchased machinery and implements to a large extent. Steam engines, drilling and sowing machines, ploughs, pumps, oil, rice, and flour mills, &c., were bought up and forwarded to various parts of India, to be practically employed, and in some cases under European superintendence. Now as the real advantages of such machinery depend upon its regular working during a number of years, and as such regular and uninterrupted working is dependant upon a continuance of peace and quiet, it is obvious that the purchasers of such machinery are personally interested in the maintenance of a peace, which allows them the

undisturbed pursuit of a vocation to the results of which they not only look as the source for recovering the first heavy outlay incurred, but also as the means of increasing their personal prosperity and consequent annual income.

The Bengal Agricultural Exhibition has thus been productive of three particular results, which form a most important epoch in the history of modern India. It has attracted the attention and excited the interest of the people to an extent which holds out the brightest hopes for great improvements in the agricultural industry of this country; it has served as a foundation stone for that structure, which is to work out a gradual reform in the social position of the natives; and it has impressed upon the minds of those willing to profit by what they have seen, that it is to their own interest to co-operate in the maintenance of that peace and quiet which are essential to success, and upon the continuance of which the further development of the natural resources of the country, as well as the stability and extension of the commonwealth of India, so materially depend. The Exhibition has moreover paved the way towards a somewhat more friendly feeling between two antagonistic races, for whilst it must have shown to the natives of the country that in the aim for material improvement to be attained by the introduction of modern machinery and implements, they must depend upon England for a supply not only of the machinery itself, but also of people to work it; it has on the other hand convinced the English manufacturer, that the surest means of promoting the introduction of such machinery and implements, is first by reducing their price to a minimum cost, consistent with a fair profit, and secondly by teaching the natives how to employ them advantageously without the necessity of entertaining an expensive European superintendence.

It now only remains for us to enquire whether and how far the Exhibition has solved the important question as to the actual cause of the deterioration of the cattle of the country, and the best means for remedying the evil. The reports of the Judges, though valuable in themselves, are chiefly an analysis of the specimens which came under their observation, but they do not exactly meet the objects for which the Exhibition was instituted. Nor is the difficulty overcome by the information subsequently collected by Government and published in a Supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette*; indeed whilst explanations are given with regard to periodical cattle murrains, and numerous opinions are offered as to the results obtained and likely to be obtained by cross-breeds, the actual questions of the deterioration of the cattle, their fitness for working improved agricultural



machinery, and the best means of speedily remedying the existing evil, remain unanswered.

In our opinion, the cause of the evil is as clear, as the remedy for it is simple. If we take into consideration the variety of local circumstances which affect the consideration of this question, we cannot fail to perceive that the Bengal bullock is precisely the animal best adapted for the soil, the climate, and the disposition of the people of the country. Capable of undergoing great fatigue, patient almost to a marvellous degree, satisfied with the simplest food, moving at a pace congenial to the habits of its attendant, and able to carry or drag loads over tracts of land where roads are unknown, the bullock both for agricultural as well as for draught purposes is best suited to the requirements of the country. Such at all events was the Bengal bullock of former days, but times have changed, and the bull of the present age is quite a different animal from the bull bred fifty years ago.

But the deterioration of the cattle must not be attributed to the present period, for it began to manifest itself nearly a quarter of a century ago, and unchecked in its progress, developed itself to its present alarming degree with the expansion of the internal and external trade of Bengal, and with the consequent increase in the development of the agricultural resources of the country, both of which led to an increased demand for cattle. But this great demand was not met by a corresponding increase of supply, indeed instead of paying additional attention to breeding establishments, a number of bulls were withheld from cattle farms altogether, and at once employed on agricultural and other works. The immediate result of this latter step was, that bulls being put into yoke long before attaining their proper age, broke down much sooner than in former times. When the railway works commenced, and the lines became available for practical purposes, the trade received a considerable impulse and caused a further demand for cattle. The supply being inadequate, the deficiency was made up by getting a greater amount of work out of the same cattle without a corresponding increase in the quantity and quality of food.

Lastly we may point out the treatment which cattle generally receive at the hands of their attendants. In no country on earth is cruelty to animals so much practised as in Bengal. Independently of the weight which cattle are made either to carry or to drag without regard to their physical strength, animals covered with sores and often bleeding under the treatment they receive, are openly employed on daily works. Those of our readers who have witnessed the manner in which an unfortunate bullock is made to drag a load beyond his strength, and the way

in which he is roused up again if succumbing under such weight, must be surprised that they continue in possession of their tails, or are not rendered totally blind. Yet what we state is a daily occurrence even in Calcutta, where a law for the prevention of cruelty to animals exists, but evidently remains a dead letter. When such proceedings predominate, while they seriously affect the cattle now in use, it is clear that they must be still more telling upon their progeny.

Summing up our remarks, we arrive at the conclusion, that the deterioration of the cattle of the country is mainly attributable to the following causes, *viz* :—

- 1st.—Withdrawal of a number of bulls from breeding farms.
- 2nd.—Employment at too early an age.
- 3rd.—Work imposed beyond their ordinary physical strength.
- 4th.—Inadequate food, both as regards quantity and quality.
- 5th.—Want of proper care and treatment when afflicted by disease.

The remedy is obvious, but before it can be acted upon to its full extent, and any improvement becomes perceptible, it is necessary to provide for the current demands of an increased trade, either by importation of cattle, or by the substitution of mechanical power, though there can be but little doubt that both will be required in addition to what local breeds may be able to supply. Though the Exhibition has thus far not solved one of the primary objects connected with the undertaking, yet it has been the means of rendering us acquainted with the best specimens which local breeds can produce in Bengal, as well as with the results obtained from cross-breeds, and these leave no doubt on our mind, that under certain arrangements and conditions Bengal farms would still be able to supply the precise kind of cattle, best adapted to the requirements of the country. The Exhibition must therefore in whatever light we may view it, be considered as eminently successful. It forms an epoch in the history of India of far greater importance than at first sight may appear. We have already pointed out its economical, social, and political results; we have now only to add, that it has afforded a tangible proof not only of the importance which Government attach to the development of the agricultural resources of this country, but also of their earnest desire to promote and encourage local industry by opening a mart for honourable competition, in which successful competitors may obtain money prizes of considerable amount, and establish a name for themselves in the markets of India.

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## SHORT NOTICES.

*The Madras Journal of Literature and Science, edited by the Honorary Secretary of the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. I. Third Series.*

It must follow from the nature of their constitution that associated bodies should have their intervals of languor as well as their periods of brilliancy and activity. In the annals of the Madras Royal Asiatic Society the last period of its activity was during the presidency of Mr. Walter Elliott, whose zeal, energy, and love of science brought together a large number of good workers to uphold the character of the benighted presidency. His retirement, however, ushered in an era of lethargy which even the patronage of Governor Denison for near half a decade has failed altogether to dispel. We are not disposed to be severe upon the only scientific body in Madras, but the last number of its Journal, now on our table, obliges us to say that it is not what it should be, though perhaps an improvement upon its predecessor. The first article in the number is an essay 'on Native Law as administered in the Courts of the Madras presidency.' The object of its author, Mr. J. D. Mayne, is to lay down certain canons which should govern the substantive law of conquered nations so as to provide for its gradual development and modification in accordance with the growth and improvement of the people themselves. This is a fair subject of discussion, but we cannot but think it quite out of place in the organ of a learned body claiming rank with the Royal Asiatic Society of London, the *Société Asiatique* of Paris, and the German Oriental Society. It is no doubt awkward that a bench of English judges in the highest appellate court of the country should sit gravely to decide 'whether a particular caste should be allowed to wear white shoes; whether pilgrims to a particular shrine might take the purificatory bath with any priest they liked, or only with certain special Brahmans; whether it was good cause for excommunication that a man, having a daughter to marry, and his choice of two nephews as husbands, had intended to marry her to the younger in defiance of the prescriptive 'claims to the elder'; or whether particular idols should have their noses marked with a triangle or twisted to the right or left. It is worse that the said august judges should have decided upon 'the admissibility of certain mantraws, or holy verses at particular ceremonies' and forbidden 'the blasts of a *tiruchunam* at some special crisis of pagoda performance, adopting the decision of the lower court "that the blowing of a *tiruchunam* or trumpet, or the use of any "musical instrument at the time of crowning the defendants with the "*Sadagopam* whether at the commencement or conclusion of their

“ministration, was an unwarrantable innovation on the established and  
 “ordinary ritual, of which plaintiffs had a right to complain, and by  
 “which they would be aggrieved and endamaged in their feelings, and  
 “honour.” But the discussion of such questions belongs to reviews  
 and popular periodicals, and not to the auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic  
 Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Passing over the second article,  
 in which Captain Beddome, the officiating conservator of forests, affords  
 some fresh contributions to the Botany of Southern India, we have  
 translations of a number of Sanskrit and Telegu spells found on a  
 murderer who had enticed a girl into his house, and killed her with a  
 view of using her corpse as an ingredient in one of his incanta-  
 tions. These spells intended to ensure mastery over demons and Sakta  
 divinities, are of the usual Tantric cast, stupid, unmeaning, and disgust-  
 ingly dirty, and we have yet to learn the good they are to serve in the  
 Journal under notice. Mr. Pogson’s paper on the Madras ‘survey of the  
 ‘Southern heavens’ is an announcement of that gentleman’s intention  
 of systematically mapping the southern hemisphere as far as visible  
 from Madras, the instrument to be used being an exquisitely fine foot  
 telescope, the property of Dr. J. Lee. F. R. S. of Hartwell. The  
 result of this survey when completed will, we have no doubt, be a  
 valuable contribution to the science of astronomy. Mr. Pogson also  
 notices two new variable stars of 8th to 14th magnitude. The next  
 article is from Mr. J. H. A. Branson of the Madras Bar. Its subject,  
 the Quatrains of Omar Khayyam, the astronomer poet of Naishapur,  
 is not new. It has been already noticed by de Tassy, D’Herbelot,  
 and Sprenger, as also in the pages of this Review (ante XXX p. 144);  
 it is nevertheless of interest, and we are glad Mr. Branson has taken it  
 up. He is an able writer, and we hope frequently to have the pleasure  
 of reading the result of his researches in oriental literary history, a  
 branch of study which is now very much neglected. The most im-  
 portant paper in the number is an essay ‘on the origin of the Sanskrit  
 ‘linguals’ by Professor Buhler of the Elphinstone College, Bombay.  
 It has become a fashion of late with our Dravidian scholars to view  
 every thing Sanskrit through a Dravidian medium, and to stumble  
 upon no end of Turanian spectres in the elements of the Sanskrit  
 language. One of these fancies is the opinion that Sanskrit linguals  
 owe their origin to Dravidian influence, and consequently all Sans-  
 krit words in which linguals occur are foreign to that language.  
 Dr. Buhler has undertaken to controvert this opinion and afforded  
 good reasons to prove the Aryan origin of that class of letters.  
 At the end of his paper he has a few words to say regarding the con-  
 version of dentals into linguals in the English language. His  
 opinion on this subject however, we venture to think, is not founded on  
 fact. It would be, we believe, more reasonable to suppose, that the  
*t* and *d* of the Teutonic languages were lingual, and that their repre-  
 sentation by the dentals of the Roman alphabet (it having no lingual  
 of its own) has produced the anomaly of dental letters representing  
 lingual sounds, than to assume with the Doctor that those languages  
 originally had no linguals, but ‘gradually developed a good many.’ No



one knows better than the learned professor himself that sound can never be imported from one language into another, and it remains yet to be proved that new sounds crop out of their own accord or by the natural wear and tear of language without any physical change. The subject however is yet a debatable one, and we must leave it therefore for the present in the hands of our philologists.

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*Looking Back ; or Pique, Repique, and Capote.* By George Arthur Von Walstab, Calcutta ; Englishman Press, 1864.

THIS novel is not devoted to Indian subjects, nor are any of the scenes in it laid in this country, and yet there are circumstances connected with its production which entitle it to the favourable notice of Indian readers. The author of the novel is a resident in Calcutta, and for some years past has been generally known as the Sub-Editor of the *Englishman*, in which capacity we have reason to know he has won good opinions from the public generally. This novel has accordingly excited much interest, and we can safely say will add much to its author's literary reputation. It is lively and sensational, crowded with incident, and replete with romance and adventure ; the reader being carried from England to the Continent, and thence to Australia, and every where called upon to witness scenes and characters which are at once original and lifelike.

Having said thus much in favour of Mr. Von Walstab and his clever novel, we cannot but feel some regret that he should not have a fairer field for his ability as a novelist than any which India affords. Indian life is so exclusively money making, than even our men of original tastes and critical appreciation of authorship have no leisure to devote to novel reading ; and thus a romance which would have quickly made its way in England, is but slowly securing a reputation in this country. We should strongly recommend Mr. Von Walstab to secure a good London publisher to reproduce it for the benefit of the large and daily increasing class of novel readers in the mother country.

We regret that our space will not enable us to give large extracts, but the following reflections near the commencement of the work will be sufficient to convey a pleasing idea of the thought and experience of the author :—

'Looking back ! — It is not over pleasant sometimes. There are good intentions made and broken, and the mirror sometimes is sadly dim, and at others too crowded with what you would rather were not reflected on that surface which to no man is ever spotless. There are slights to parents, petty faults of youth which seemed so trifling then, but have led to such bitter consequences ; hasty words followed by hasty actions, actions perhaps the forerunners of the skeleton locked in your closet, and which so often looks over your shoulder as you gaze into the mirror—the skeleton which you have sadly accustomed yourself to, yet which you would be sorry that others, even those nearest and dearest to you, should see.

‘Looking back at dark shadows of the past, thronging as thickly as the shadows of coming night fall in some old avenue, dark and gloomy, telling of what it all comes to, the past and its memories.

‘And yet it is good to look back even into the most ordinary life, for out of it may be gleaned a lesson for the future—a lesson by which others may profit. And so I have opened my old desk drawer, and taken out the mirror, and on to its surface crowd scenes gone by, and friends, some dead and some scattered over the world—friends whose lives have crossed and mixed with mine till their past has become a portion of mine, and our shadows walk hand in hand on the mirror. And as I gaze on the mirror the string of the letters is untied, and they lie loose before me. One by one they are read—one by one old memories come trooping on my mind, old faces and familiar voices hover round me, and with those voices my old comrades and friends rise before me.

‘And thus, with the mirror before us, every fresh memory replacing the worn quicksilver, we sit side by side in the early morning, and the still evening, gazing into the past which has been sad to some and happy to others, “Looking Back.”’

*Minutes of Proceedings of the Bethune Society, for the Session ending April 14, 1864.* Stanhope Press, 1864.

*Report of a Meeting of the Bethune Society, in honour of its late President the Revd. Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D.* Stanhope Press, 1863.

*The Address to Dr. Duff, from the Bethune Society, and his reply.* Stanhope Press, 1863.

THE above three pamphlets form the outcome of the Bethune Society during its last Session. An outsider would perhaps infer that the main object of the Society was the glorification of Dr. Duff; but he would do it grievous wrong in thinking so. The Bethune Society gets through a good deal of quiet and unobtrusive work. The lectures are of an interesting and suggestive character, are well attended, and bring together men who ought to meet, but who never do meet, except on such occasions. If there were a few more of these Societies, if they met oftener, and if the European community encouraged them more, (for native gentlemen are not remiss in attendance) we should not only see the ostensible object of such a Society—the propagation of knowledge—advanced, but we should also see secured that which we feel to have been almost as important an object in the eyes of those who first founded the Bethune Society:—a more thorough mutual understanding established between the Europeans and Bengalis engaged on the pursuit of the same great end.

Nor was the homage paid to Dr. Duff, though to our tastes profuse and somewhat oriental, at all out of place. Dr. Duff, a man of powerful mind and great facility of speech, had the good sense to



devote himself to the cause of general improvement, and not merely, as some missionaries do, to the promotion of a particular set of religious views. This accounts for the singular phenomenon of a body of those whom our mothers and sisters call 'heathen's' meeting to do honour in overpowering and overflowing terms of eulogy, to a Christian Missionary. These are not converts of Dr. Duff, nor likely to be. But they are men who, having watched him through a long career, have seen that he meant them all the good he could, that he was in earnest, if ever man was, that he sincerely loved the people of India, that his missionary zeal was but a portion of his eagerness for their general well-being, and that he felt it his duty in his Master's cause to diffuse among them all God's gifts, knowledge and civilization and refinement, beneficial legislation and political coherence, and not to withhold these, because they would not accept the faith which he thought better than these. We remember reading an abominable pamphlet by a missionary at the time of the Indigo agitation,—or to say the truth, we consigned it, half-read, to the waters of the Chilka Lake—which laid down that the Christian was not justified in labouring, or even in wishing, for the temporal benefit of the natives, who are children of wrath, and should be treated accordingly. Thank God, few dare preach this doctrine, but as long as it is even tacitly acted upon by any, we cannot wonder at the respect and admiration shown, by all who can form a judgment, for Alexander Duff.

By the bye, when are the Bethune Society going to furnish us with the answers to Mr. Long's five hundred questions?

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*Avesta: the Religious Books of the Parsees; from Professor Sprengel's German translation of the original Manuscripts. By Arthur Henry Bleek. London: Bernard Quaritch.*

At last the European student may be said to be placed in possession of a trustworthy translation of the Zendavesta; for though we should have preferred a version direct from the original Zend, instead of through a German medium, still the present publication is infinitely more satisfactory than the wretched French translation by Anquetil Da Perron published nearly a century ago. To review the Avesta is a task altogether beyond our limits; but we may remark that the subject is one well worthy of being investigated by a competent critic. Like most so-called sacred books, it contains much matter belonging not only to different periods, but to different creeds; and a searching analysis of the whole would we believe bring out many important results. The Parsee religion, like many others which we need not name, is a compromise between an older and a later belief; between that hateful old Magian religion, with its magical rites and human sacrifices, which is indicated by Herodotus, and that purer reformed religion preached by Zoroaster which reduced the Magian gods to the category of devils, and inculcated a faith in a Supreme Being, symbolized by light.

flame, who in the end triumph over the powers of evil, as light triumphs over darkness. Purity in body and in heart were the leading objects of the old world prophets, who found themselves called to do battle against hateful rites, bloody sacrifices, and the depraving influences of a besotted priesthood upon an ignorant and credulous people. There may be a few relics or remains of old traditions of early migrations imbedded in these sacred writings, and it might be worth while to extract them, as well as such precepts in illustration of ancient law and morality as are at present intertwined with mere theological dogmas.

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ART. I.—*Benares, Past and Present.*

THE great antiquity of India is proved directly and indirectly in so many ways, that it has come to be regarded as one of the ordinary truisms about which all the civilized world are agreed. Yet it is remarkable that, although it admits not of the smallest question, no evidence in its favour should be afforded by any monument of art hitherto discovered in the country. There is no known specimen of architecture existing of any character the date of which carries us back beyond the third century before Christ. The pillars of Asoka, which belong to this period, are the very earliest sculptured remains yet found. 'Of these,' says Mr. Fergusson, 'one is at Delhi, having been re-erected by Feroze Shah in his palace, as a monument of his victory over the Hindus. Three more are standing near the river Gunduck in Tirhoot; and one has been placed on a pedestal in the fort of Allahabad. A fragment of another was discovered near Delhi, and part of a seventh was used as a roller on the Benares road by a Company's engineer officer.\*' There is reason for supposing that some of the Bhilsa topes may be assigned to this epoch, while others are undoubtedly of a somewhat later date. Of the cave temples, so interesting not only to the archæologist but likewise to all lovers of the curious, not one was excavated earlier than the first century before Christ. The great Karli cave dates from the beginning of the Christian era. The Ajunta caves belong to several epochs, and some are as recent as the ninth or tenth centuries A. D. The Viswakarma cave at Ellora is of the seventh or eighth century A. D. Among the caves in Behar there is one called the Lomas Rishi, which from certain peculiarities in its construction may, it is conjectured, have been excavated prior to

\* *Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture*, p. 7.



the Christian era, although the inscription which covers it is ascribed only to the fourth century after Christ.

It has been asserted on strong authority, that no ancient temples or religious monasteries apart from the cave structures exist in India, on the ground that the pre-Buddhist Hindus, that is, those living previous to the sixth century B. C., were as yet simple and unsophisticated, and performed the rites of their religion to a great extent without idols or temples, or if with them, those objects were made of perishable material. The fact of no temples or other edifices having been discovered, is regarded as a powerful reason in substantiation of this assertion. Now, to say the least, it is exceedingly premature to hazard such an opinion founded on such a basis, inasmuch as the study of Indian antiquities with exactness is only of yesterday. Scarcely a generation has passed since Prinsep deciphered the inscriptions on Asoka's pillars and ascertained their date. Moreover, the spirit of archæological inquiry has but slightly manifested itself among the British rulers of India. Of the large number of educated Englishmen who have visited the country during the last one hundred years, and have resided in it for a longer or shorter period, perhaps not one in a thousand has taken the smallest practical interest in bringing to the light of day its hidden historical treasures. It is a hopeful sign of the times that curiosity on this subject is now being extensively excited, but it has hardly yet passed into the stage of eager desire displaying itself by earnest and persistent effort in the pursuit of archæological investigations. The discoveries of the last few years have been so remarkable and abundant, and have added so many increments to our small stock of knowledge respecting ancient India, that the appetite for these researches has become more strongly whetted, and the belief has been originated that the Indian mine is rich and deep, and is ample enough to repay the efforts of a whole army of explorers.

The ancient edifices of India with which we are acquainted are not of that primitive and rude character as to lead us to imagine that they are the very first productions of Indian architectural skill. On the contrary, they indicate an advanced stage both in the knowledge and application of permanent material, and in devising and executing elegant designs in it. No one can look upon Asoka's monoliths and believe for an instant that the knowledge of architecture which they display, was acquired simply during that monarch's reign. Nor can it be credited that the beautiful cave temples were without their predecessors. It may be replied, however, that, from a minute and careful examination of Indian, Assyrian, and Egyptian

architecture, the conclusion may almost be demonstrated, that the models of the two former styles were originally wooden, while those of the last mentioned were of stone, and that therefore there is a necessary limit to our investigations beyond which it is useless to attempt to go, for that the wooden models have mostly if not entirely perished, and the stone are of a later period. Granting that this theory is in the main true, we are not compelled to believe that the earliest stone erections were as recent as the third century before Christ, or, if there were any before that date, that they have all been destroyed. Of the ancient Assyrian palaces discovered by Layard, those most elaborately sculptured were built about B. C. 700, while others in a less ornamented style were erected before this. And even these were preceded by wooden buildings. If this be correct, why should not at least the same antiquity be conceded to Indian sculptures subsequent to the wooden period? Is it at all likely that the Aryan race existed in India for between one and two thousand years, that they conquered a large portion of the country, that they attained to greatness and glory, and made wonderful progress in civilization, equalling if not surpassing their contemporaries in other parts of Asia, and yet that during all this time they were satisfied with only transitory symbols of greatness, and never conceived the idea of leaving behind them durable monuments of their power which should hand down their name to many generations? They must have heard of the vast structures erected in Egypt, and of the splendid palaces, and stairs, and pillars, and other edifices, with which the Assyrian monarchs adorned their cities. They were not lacking in genius or in the desire for knowledge; on the contrary, their minds investigated the highest subjects, and whatever was of interest to humanity in general, they regarded as of importance to themselves.

But, it may be said, the Hindus borrowed their architecture from the Assyrians, or that the architecture of the two races was of a common origin. Both suppositions may be true, and in our opinion it is almost certain that in whatever way it was brought about, both countries in some respects followed the same models. Whether Assyrian or Persian sculptors were the architects of the earliest Hindu buildings, is open to question, but if they were, it seems absurd to suppose that they should have erected edifices altogether of wood, while in their own country the public buildings were to a large extent of stone, especially seeing that various kinds of durable stone were easily procurable in India. If, on the other hand, the architects were natives who had learnt the principles of their



art chiefly from Assyria or Persia, it appears equally strange that they should have perpetuated the construction of wooden buildings in India for centuries after they must have known them to have been abandoned in those countries and to have given place to vast edifices of wood and stone combined, covered with carvings and sculptures.

We arrive therefore at this conclusion, that as there is every reason to believe that solid buildings partly if not entirely of stone were erected in India several hundred years preceding the third century B. C., the earliest date, as already remarked, of any monuments hitherto discovered, the probability is, that if a diligent search were instituted, some fragmentary remains of them would be found. It is a circumstance highly favourable to the prosecution of this search, that the ancient abodes of the Aryan race in India have been for the most part well ascertained. All these places will be, we hope, in the course of time thoroughly examined, and every object of interest tending to throw any light on the subject before us or on the ancient history of India generally, noted and described.

Among the primitive cities founded by this people, must indisputably be reckoned the city of Benares. When it was first founded, and by what prince or patriarch, is altogether unknown. But of its great antiquity stretching back through the dim ages of Indian history far into the clouds and mists of the Vedic and perhaps pre-Vedic periods, there can be no doubt. By reason of some subtle and mysterious charm, this city has linked itself with the religious sympathies of the Hindus through every century of its existence. For the sanctity of its inhabitants, of its temples and tanks, of its wells and streams, of the very soil that is trodden, of the very air that is breathed, and of everything in it and around it, Benares has been famed for thousands of years. The poor deluded sensualist, whose life has been passed in abominable practices, or the covetous *mahajan* who has made himself rich by a long course of hard-fisted extortion, or the fanatical devotee, fool and murderer, more simple than a babe, yet guilty of the foulest crimes, still comes as of old from the remotest corners of India, as the sands of time are slowly ebbing away, and fearful lest the golden thread should be snapped before his long journey is ended, he makes desperate efforts to hold on his course, until, arriving at the sacred city and touching its hallowed soil, his anxious spirit becomes suddenly calm, a strange sense of relief comes over him, and he is at once cheered and comforted with the treacherous lie, that his sins are forgiven, and his soul is saved.

It is natural therefore to believe that *primâ facie* Benares

offers as fair a field for archæological investigation in regard to the earliest forms of Hindu architecture as any city in India. It is confessedly true that no very ancient remains have yet been found there, but the reason may be, because they have not been properly sought after. It is only within the last three or four years that, so far as we are aware, any inquiries have been made in a regular manner respecting the old buildings existing in Benares. Mr. James Prinsep, the great Indian archæologist, was the Magistrate of the city for several years, but it does not appear that he made any important discoveries in it. His 'Views of Benares' are chiefly of a popular cast, and do not give evidence of any extensive observation or research. Major Kittoe, the late Government Archæologist and Architect of the Government College, a beautiful Gothic structure in the suburbs of the city although interesting himself in the excavations at Sarnath, some three miles to the north of Benares, did not, so far as is known, examine the city itself. Indeed so inattentive was he to its claims to antiquity, that he removed many cart-loads of heavy stones, some of which were curiously carved, from Bakariya Kund on the confines of the city and not more than a mile from the college which he was erecting, without reflecting that they might possibly be the relics of ancient buildings formerly situated on that site. As a fact, they were connected with a series of Buddhist edifices covering perhaps as much space as those the foundations and remains of which are found at Sarnath. A third archæologist, Mr. Thomas, late Judge of Benares, and a distinguished numismatist, trod in the same footsteps, only taking interest in the coins discovered in the city. As instances of ruthless spoliation, we may here remark, that in the erection of one of the bridges over the river Burna, forty-eight statues and other sculptured stones were removed from Sarnath and thrown into the river to serve as a breakwater to the piers; and that in the erection of the second bridge, the Iron one, from fifty to sixty cart-loads of the stones from the Sarnath buildings were employed. But this Vandalism hardly equals that of Baboo Jagat Sing, who in the last century carted away an entire tope from the same vast store-house, with which he built Jagat Gunge in the suburbs of the city.

The chief reason why Benares has been thus neglected is, in our judgment, attributable partly to its great extent, and partly to the general ignorance as to the position of its ancient portions; and consequently the explorer in commencing his task would be in considerable doubt where to begin. Now it is necessary to state, that much of the existing city has been erected in comparatively modern times, and with the exception of an occa-



sional bit of old frieze or cornice, or a broken bas-relief or statue, inserted into recent walls, deposited over drains, or lying neglected by the side of the road, there is nothing of an ancient character visible. But all the northern quarter of the city, a district little frequented by European visitors, exhibits signs of antiquity in abundance. Independent of a few separate buildings, or parts of buildings, here and there to be seen, of an early style of Hindu architecture, sculptured stones of many kinds are distributed amongst the walls and foundations of the modern houses and in all places wherever solid masonry is required, in such great profusion, that it is impossible not to believe that on this site stood Benares in olden times. Moreover, the very scattered nature of these remains, shows that a vast period has elapsed since they occupied their proper places in their own original edifices. It might be utterly impracticable to collect the entire materials of any one building, but this is not necessary, seeing that the age of a building can be commonly determined by observing only a fragment of its ruins. In the case however of ancient Hindu remains, so little has been done in their investigation, especially in comparing one with another, that the question of their antiquity cannot be at once decided. From an ignorance of primitive types, mistakes of five hundred or a thousand years or upwards may be easily made. In judging therefore of the age of the relics found in Benares, we have in reality very little to guide us.

If there be anything in the argument based on the simplicity of a style or on its ornamentation relative to its greater or less antiquity, then can we predicate of the buildings which formerly stood in this part of Benares every stage of antiquity, from the most remote to the most recent. Some of the capitals, pillars, bases, architraves, and mouldings, are most severely simple in their type, while others are crowded with ornamentation, and both species are very different from the styles in modern use. The first species is doubtless the forerunner of the second, but at what interval it is at present impossible to affirm.

There is no question that a large proportion of the ancient remains in Benares are of Buddhist origin, but of various epochs, and in some cases those on the same site are of different ages. For instance, the Buddhist monastery and temples, of which traces are found at Bakariya Kund, differ in their styles of architecture. Of the two chaityas or temples, parts of which are still standing, the pillars of the one are square and without ornament, while those of the other, situated about three hundred yards off, are first square, then eight-sided, and then sixteen-sided, and are adorned with exquisitely carved devices.

Moreover, from the masonic symbols engraved upon many of the stones, it is manifest that, while a portion of the buildings was erected during the Gupta dynasty or from the third to the sixth centuries A. D., yet that another portion must have been built much earlier, possibly at the time when the Pali language was spoken.

There are several ancient edifices in Benares, which if not original, are certainly to a large extent built of old materials. In these, more especially in their columns, may be traced a gradation of style. When we compare the simple bracket or cruciform capital and its plain square shaft and base, such as we find in the pillars of the cloisters around the platform of Aurungzebe's mosque behind the modern Bisheshwar temple, and also in the pillars of a Mahomedan cemetery in the neighbourhood of Tilia Nala, with the elaborately ornamented columns of the mosque in the Raj Ghaut Fort, we are at once struck at the contrast, and at the extraordinary development which the style, the same fundamentally in both instances, has received. Various intermediate stages of diversity are represented in other buildings to which we cannot here further allude. But the first class of pillars must, we contend, be of a very early date. It does not follow, however, that the other class belongs necessarily to a recent epoch. The mosque in which the columns of this class are found consists apparently of two Buddhist cloisters, or possibly of two divisions of a Buddhist temple, and has been at times so extensively altered and repaired that it is hard to say that any one column stands exactly as originally placed. The columns are four in each row, and are seventy in number. They are all carved, as also, with a few exceptions, are the architraves, and the carvings in one division are uniform. The carvings in the other division, are bolder and more profuse, but nevertheless are totally free from degeneracy of style. Some of the pillars are of striking beauty, and for grandness of conception and correctness of execution, are not surpassed anywhere in India. Now, as some of the beautifully carved pillars at Bhilsa were set up in the second or third centuries before Christ, we must be careful in our estimate of the date to which the Raj Ghaut pillars, which are of equal excellency and purity of style, ought to be assigned.

But we do not suppose that the architectural remains scattered over this quarter of Benares are all of Buddhist origin. At the same time, we do not forget the remark of Fergusson, (*Hand-book of Architecture*, p. 100,) that 'the earliest authentic building that we have of the Hindu religion in Hindustan, is the great temple of Bhubaneswar, (in Orissa,) built



' by Lelat Indra Kesari, A. D. 657,' which, if true at the time he wrote, is nevertheless in our judgment a remark made without sufficient investigation. The same eminent writer has elsewhere hazarded the erroneous observation respecting Buddhist structures, that no built examples whatever exist in India of Buddhist temples (*chaityas*) and monasteries (*vihas*); and has besides strangely confounded Jain and Buddhist monuments. Previous to the Buddhist supremacy in India, we know that Benares was a Brahminical city, and there is no proof that at any period of that supremacy Brahminism was entirely extirpated therefrom. For our part, we are inclined to believe that some of these ancient remains may be attributed equally to Hindu and Buddhist origin. The simple style of architecture, to which we have alluded, was without doubt the earliest introduced into Benares, perhaps into Hindustan, and whether the work of Buddhists or Hindus, is of high antiquity.

It will be remembered by some of our readers, that the large Buddhist tope at Sarnath was seen by the Chinese traveller Hwan Thsang in the seventh century of our era, and probably by Fa Hian, another Chinese pilgrim, in the beginning of the fifth. These persons not only saw the tope, but also other buildings in its immediate neighbourhood. The former says, that one hundred separate chapels or shrines, surmounted by golden arrows, and possessing gilt images, encompassed the tower; and the latter speaks of several towers and of two monasteries erected on this spot. The excavations at Sarnath have revealed portions of some of these edifices, and have brought to light numerous images or statues deposited in them. The structures seen by Fa Hian were probably erected for the most part in the fourth century or earlier, but of their date we have no exact information. A discovery of much importance has been made in carrying on the excavations, namely, that below the foundations of the later building are the remains *in situ* of an earlier structure, the epoch of which must be placed far anterior to that of the upper one. When we reflect that Sakya Muni first 'turned the wheel of the law' at Sarnath in the sixth century B. C., and that from that period downwards this spot was held in the greatest sanctity by all pious Buddhists, it is certain that buildings of some sort must have existed there from that early era continuously down to the time of the visit of the Chinese travellers. The most primitive of them may have been of wood, but to us it seems absurd to suppose that at the time Asoka erected stone monuments in honour of Buddha all over India, this place of Buddha's first labours should have

possessed only wooden structures, especially when we remember that inexhaustible quarries of the finest sandstone existed only a few miles off, namely, near the sites of the modern towns of Mirzapore and Chunar.

It is worthy of notice as indicative of the nature of Mahomedan rule in India, that nearly all the buildings in Benares of acknowledged antiquity have been appropriated by the Mussulmans, being used as mosques, mausoleums, dargahs, and so forth, and also that a large portion of the separate pillars, architraves, and various other ancient remains, which, as before remarked, are so plentifully found in one part of the city, are contributing to the support or adornment of their edifices. Not content with destroying temples and mutilating idols with all the zeal of fanatics, they fixed their greedy eyes on whatever object was suited to their own purposes, and without remorse or any of the tenderness shown by the present rulers, seized upon it for themselves. And thus it has come to pass, that every solid and durable structure, and every ancient stone of value, being esteemed by them as their peculiar property, has very few exceptions passed into their hands. We believe it was the boast of Alauddin that he had destroyed one thousand temples in Benares alone. How many more were razed to the ground, or transformed into mosques through the iconoclastic fervour of Aurungzebe, there is no means of knowing, but it is not too much to say that he was unsurpassed in this feature of religious enthusiasm by any of his predecessors. If there be one circumstance respecting the Mahomedan period which Hindus remember better than another, it is the insulting pride of the Mussulmans, the outrages which they perpetrated upon their religious convictions, and the extensive spoliation of their temples and shrines. It is right that Europeans as well as Hindus should clearly understand that this spirit of Mahomedanism is unchangeable, and that if by any mischance India should again come into the possession of men of this creed, all the churches and colleges, and all the Mission institutions, with perhaps every other product of Christianity, would not be worth a week's purchase.

When we endeavour to ascertain what the Mahomedans have left to the Hindus of their ancient buildings in Benares, we are startled at the result of our investigations. Although the city is bestrewn with temples in every direction, in some places very thickly, yet it would be difficult we believe to find twenty temples in all Benares of the age of Aurungzebe. The same unequal proportion of old temples as compared with new is visible throughout the whole of Northern India. Moreover the dimi-



native size of nearly all the temples which exist, is another powerful testimony to the stringency of the Mahomedan rule. It seems clear that for the most part the emperors forbade the Hindus to build spacious temples, and only suffered them to erect small structures of the size of cages for their idols, and these of no pretensions to beauty. The consequence is, that the Hindus of the present day, blindly following the example of their predecessors of two centuries ago, commonly build their religious edifices of the same dwarfish size as formerly, but instead of plain, ugly buildings, they are often of elegant construction. Some of them indeed are so delicately carved on their exterior face, are so crowded with bas-reliefs and minute sculpturing, and are so lavishly ornamented, that the eye of the beholder becomes satiated and wearied. In regard to size, there is a marked difference between the temples of Northern and Southern India, the latter being frequently of gigantic dimensions, yet in respect of symmetry and beauty, the difference is immensely in favour of the Northern fanes.

The form of religion prevailing among the Hindus in Benares is Puranic, which in all probability originated in the country generally at the time when the Buddhist religion began to lose its hold upon the people, or about the fifth or sixth century A. D. Vedantism more or less tinctures the philosophical creed of many, but the staple religion of the masses is the lowest and grossest form of idolatry—is the worship of uncouth idols, of monsters, of the lingam and other indecent figures, and of a multitude of grotesque, ill-shapen, and barbarous objects. Some of them are wild parodies on the animal kingdom, representing imaginary creatures made up in a variety of ways. There is no city in India in which the reverence paid to images is more absolute and complete than in Benares. It is remarkable too, as showing the extent to which the spirit of idolatry has permeated all classes, that pundits and thinking men, who ought to know better, join in the general practice. The only persons who do not heartily engage in it, are the young men educated at the public colleges and schools, who out of deference to their parents and friends perform carelessly and flippantly the prescribed religious duties, but who have already perceived the hollowness and absurdity of Hinduism, and do not scruple occasionally to betray their sentiments, and even to scoff at their own religion. To this class, which is constantly increasing, should be added those persons, the number of whom may be large, but which it is impossible to calculate, who have paid serious attention to the exposition of Christian Truth by Missionaries in the bazar, and who although not outwardly accepting Chris-

tianity, are yet to some extent convinced of the falsity of Hinduism.

Since the country has come into our hands a great impetus has been given to the erection of temples and to the manufacture of idols in Northern India. In Benares, temples have multiplied at a prodigious rate, and this rate, at the present moment, is we believe rather increasing than diminishing. Judging from its external appearances Hinduism was never so flourishing as it is now. With general prosperity and universal peace, and with a Government based on neutral principles, and always very respectful to the national religious systems, Hinduism under the leadership of men of the old school—princes, pundits, banyas, and priests,—is making extraordinary efforts to maintain its position against the new doctrines of European civilization and religion which they now begin to recognize as formidable opponents. The remarks of the Rev. Dr. Mullens, on the extension of Hinduism, materially and outwardly, in ‘*Christian Work*’ for July 1864, strongly bear out these observations:—

‘There can be little doubt,’ he says, ‘that a hundred years ago, the temples, mosques, and shrines of India belonging to all the native religions, were by no means in a flourishing condition. Large numbers, indeed, must have been in a state of decay. The anarchy that prevailed throughout the Mogul empire after the death of Aurungzebe, the constant wars, the terrible visits of foreign armies, the civil contests, the struggles of petty landholders, all tended to produce a state of insecurity, which paralysed trade, which even hindered agriculture, and involved all classes in a poverty which the empire had not suffered for many years. Never were invasions more fierce; never were famines more cruel. Though freed from the persecutions of the bigoted emperor, the temples suffered grievously from the general want; and it was probably only in the Mahratta provinces that Hinduism flourished; in them realizing its prosperity from the plunder of successful Mahratta armies, whose piety rewarded the shrines of their protecting divinities with a shower of endowments and offerings which remain in measure to the present day. Hinduism now is, externally, in a much more flourishing condition than it was then. All over North India especially, the native merchants and bankers who have prospered by English protection, by contracts with English armies, by the security given by English law to their extensive trade, have filled Benares and other cities with new and costly shrines; and many a Rajah, and many a banker, when visiting in state the holy city, has poured into the lap of the attendant



'priests unheard-of sums, which must have satisfied even their covetous and grasping souls. Thus strangely has the revival of prosperity under English rule added something of external strength to the ancient idolatry, the resources of which had in so many places begun to fail. The new school, enlightened and doubting, ceases to build new temples, or endow the old ones. The old school, prospering in trade, growing in wealth, still trusting to the ancient superstitions, and anxious to earn merit for themselves, build new temples and present new gifts; though feeling that the days of their faith are numbered, and that other views are gradually pressing their own into oblivion.'

It remains to be seen whether the new religion or the old—Christianity or Hinduism—is the more powerful. The contest between them has already commenced. It is felt throughout all the divisions of native society. It is inflaming the blood of the higher castes, and is calling forth all the subtlety of the Brahmins, all their intellect, and all their mysterious authority. We must expect the opposition to Christianity to be in many places organized and systematic, determined and dogged. But if Christians in India be faithful to themselves and to their Divine Master, the triumph of their cause is certain.

Upwards of thirty years ago Mr. James Prinsep, then Magistrate of Benares, took a census of the city, and also made a computation of the number of temples and mosques existing in it. From his calculation, which was made with considerable care, there were at that time in the city proper, exclusive of the suburbs, 1,000 Hindu temples and 333 Mahomedan mosques. But this number of temples, which has since been much increased, did not include, we imagine, the small shrines, the niches in the walls, the cavities inside and outside many of the houses, and the spaces on the ghauts, in which images in immense multitudes were and are still deposited. These secondary shrines, if they be worthy of this designation, each occupied by one or more idols, are in some parts of the city exceedingly numerous. Figures of every form, from a plain stone to the most fantastic shape, whole and mutilated, painted and unpainted, some without adornment, and others decorated with garlands, or wet with sacred water, meet the eye in every direction. These remarks especially refer to the neighbourhood of the bathing ghauts and of the principal temples. Yet all over the city idols and temples are seen scattered in marvellous prodigality.

The Hindus have a strange fancy for accumulating idols in certain spots. Not content with depositing one image in a temple, they ornament its portico and walls with deities, or

arrange them in rows in the temple enclosure. You may sometimes see twenty, fifty, and even a hundred of these idols in one place, many of which will perhaps receive as much homage as the god who is exalted to the chief seat within the temple itself. If it would be difficult to count the small shrines and sacred niches abounding in the city, it would be incomparably more so to count the idols actually worshipped by the people. These inferior shrines were on one occasion by a curious contrivance immensely increased, and yet the increase could hardly have been generally perceived. Rajah Mán Singh of Jeypore wishing to present one hundred thousand temples to the city, made this stipulation, that they were all to be commenced and finished in one day. The plan hit upon was, to cut out on blocks of stone a great many tiny niches, each one representing a temple. The separate blocks, therefore, on the work being completed, exhibited from top to bottom and on all sides a mass of minute temples. These blocks are still to be seen in various parts of Benares, the largest being situated above the Dassasumedh Ghaut, near the Mán Mandil observatory. In regard to the number of idols of every description actually worshipped by the people, it certainly exceeds the number of people themselves, though multiplied twice over, and cannot be less than half a million, but may be many more. Indeed the love for idolatry is so deep-seated and intense in the breast of the Hindu, that it is a common thing for both men and women to amuse themselves with a pious intent with manufacturing little gods from mud or clay, and after paying divine honours to them, and that too with the same profound reverence which they display in their devotions before the well-known deities of the temples, to throw them away.

Although most of the temples are of modern date, yet the old sites still remain, where for many ages shrines dedicated to certain deities have stood, and have been adored by a ceaseless stream of Hindu worshippers. It is therefore a common reply which one receives on inquiring the date of any given shrine, that it is without date and has existed for ever. These original sites are numerous, and each has a history of its own. For instance, the pundits say that Ganesh is worshipped in fifty-six places, the goddess Yogani in sixty-four, Durga in nine, Bhairō in eight, Shiva in eleven, Vishnu in one, and the Sun in twelve, all of which date from the mythical period when Deodáss, the famous Rajah of Benares whose name is a household word among the people, was prevailed on to permit the gods to return to their *ancient and sacred home*. But these places do



not by any means represent the present number of shrines at which these deities are venerated. Ganesh especially, the god of wisdom, son of Shiva and Parvati, is very extensively worshipped in Benares; and there is scarcely a temple in some niche or corner of which his ill-shapen figure may not be found.

The temple receiving the highest meed of honour in the whole city is that dedicated to the god Bisheshwar or Shiva, whose image is the lingam or a plain stone set up on end. Bisheshwar is the reigning deity of Benares, and in the opinion of the people holds the position of king over all the other deities, as well as over all the inhabitants residing not only within the city itself, but also within the circuit of the Panch-kosi road or sacred boundary of Benares extending for nearly fifty miles. In issuing his orders he acts through Bhaironath, who is the deified kotwal or god-magistrate of Benares and its extensive suburbs. Every matter of importance is presumed to be brought in a regular manner by the kotwal before his royal master. The agents of the kotwal are stationed all along the Panch-kosi road, and are the gods or idols located there, who are supposed to act as chowkidars or watchmen over the entire boundary. The office of these watchmen is to ward off all evil from the sacred city, to contend with such enemies as they may meet with endeavouring to break in upon the outer enclosure, and to send in their reports to the god-magistrate Bhaironath.

Bisheshwar in his capacity of idol-king of Benares demands the homage of his subjects, and will not resign his rights to the other deities who throng his dominions. His subjects must first of all worship him, and must bring their offerings to his shrine, of which he, or rather his rapacious priests, are exceedingly fond. Although without mouth or throat, his thirst seems to be great, for one of the most plentiful offerings presented to him, is that of Ganges water, with which in the hot season he is kept perpetually drenched.

It is no matter of surprise, therefore, that Bisheshwar should receive more adoration than any other idol in Benares. Not only the permanent inhabitants of the city, but also pilgrims and other travellers may be seen pressing into the temple during the greater portion of the day. The worshippers are of all classes and conditions, and present a singular and even picturesque variety of appearance. Among the most prominent of these is, we need hardly say, the proud, half-naked Brahmin, with shaven head, save a long tuft depending from his crown behind, the *Janeo* or sacred thread being thrown over one shoulder or ear, and the symbol of Shiva being displayed upon his forehead,

who performs his devotions with punctilious nicety. The faquir too, in almost primitive nakedness, his hair dyed and matted together, and his body bedaubed with ashes, though scarcely noticed by other people, arrests the attention of the stranger. Few of the men have much clothing upon their persons, and yet many of them, by their carriage and by the jewels and gold with which they are adorned, show that they occupy a very respectable position in native society. The women are for the most part thoroughly clothed, and some of them occasionally are profusely decorated with gold and silver ornaments studded with precious stones. All the worshippers carry offerings in their hands, consisting of sugar, rice, ghee, grain, flowers, water, &c. One of the most beautiful of the flowers presented is the lotus, the form and colour of which bear some resemblance to a large tulip or water-lily.

Over the narrow doorway which constitutes the chief entrance to the temple, is a small figure of Ganesh, upon which some of the worshippers as they pass in sprinkle a few drops of water. On entering the enclosure several shrines are visible. The worshipper pays his homage to any god or all, as he may elect, but he must of necessity approach the paramount deity of the place, that is to say, the plain oblong stone already alluded to. He makes his obeisance to the god either by bowing his head, his hands being folded in adoration, or by prostrating himself upon the ground; after which he presents his offering, and rings one of the bells suspended from the roof of the temple. This is to arrest the attention of the god—for it is possible he may be asleep, or otherwise occupied—and to fix it upon himself. The adoration of an idolater is sometimes distressingly solemn. His whole soul seems to be overawed, but with what sentiments, it is impossible to affirm; and the solemnity, if any, is singularly transient, and only lasts so long as he is in the presence of the idol. It is difficult to analyze his feelings, or to affirm precisely that they are of this or of that nature; nevertheless, there can be little doubt that his mind is occasionally filled with dread and anxiety, amounting it may be to alarm. The idolater cherishes no love for the idols he worships, but, on the contrary, regards them as beings to be feared, and therefore to be propitiated by adoration and suitable offerings. Nearly all the worshippers engage in their devotions in a quiet, orderly, and decent manner, but with manifest perfunctoriness and with little or no thought beyond the desire to perform thoroughly the task they have set themselves even to the minutest particular.

The temple of Bisheshwar is situated in the midst of a quadrangle covered in with a roof, above which the tower of the



temple is seen. At each corner is a dome, and at the south-east corner a temple sacred to Shiva. When observed in the distance from the elevation of the roof, the building presents three distinct divisions. The first is the spire of a temple of Mahadeo, whose base is in the quadrangle below. The second is a large gilded dome. And the third is the gilded tower of the temple of Bisheshwar itself. These three objects are all in a row in the centre of the quadrangle, filling up most of the space from one side to the other. The carving upon them is not particularly striking; but the dome and tower glittering in the sun look like vast masses of burnished gold. They are, however, only covered with gold leaf, which is spread over plates of copper overlaying the stones beneath. The expense of gilding them was borne by the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh of Lahore. The tower, dome, and spire, terminate severally in a sharp point. Attached to the first is a high pole bearing a small flag and ending with a trident. The temple of Bisheshwar inclusive of the tower is fifty-one feet in height. The space between the temples of Bisheshwar and Mahadeo, beneath the dome, is used as a belfry, and as many as nine bells are suspended in it. One is of elegant workmanship, and was presented to the temple by the Rajah of Nepaul.

Outside the enclosure to the north, is a large collection of deities raised upon a platform, called by the natives 'the court of Mahadeo.' They are for the most part male and female emblems. Several small idols likewise are built into the wall flanking this court. These are evidently not of modern manufacture. Their age, however, does not seem to be known. The probability is, that they were taken from the ruins of the old temple of Bisheshwar which stood to the north-west of the present structure and was demolished by the emperor Aurungzebe in the seventeenth century. Extensive remains of this ancient temple are still visible. They form a large portion of the western wall of the Mahomedan mosque, which was built upon its site by this bigoted conqueror of the Hindus. Judging from the proportions of these ruins, it is manifest that the former temple of Bisheshwar must have been both loftier and more capacious than the existing structure; and the courtyard is four or five times more spacious than the entire area occupied by the modern temple. The architecture of the ruins seems to be of a mixed character, and composed both of Jain and Hindu orders. If this conjecture be correct, the old Hindu temple must have been preceded by a Jain temple. Indeed it is not impossible that a few slight traces of Buddhist architecture might be detected also. What makes this latter supposition plausible is, that

three sides of the perpendicular face of the terrace on which the mosque stands, Buddhist pillars of a simple and very early type, forming recesses or rooms, but which were originally in all probability cloisters, are distinctly visible.

The mosque, though not small, is by no means an imposing object. It is plain and uninteresting, and displays scarcely any carving or other ornament. Within and without, its walls are besmeared with a dirty whitewash mixed with a little colouring matter. Its most interesting feature is a row of Buddhist or Hindu columns in the front elevation. The presence of this mosque, erected under such insulting circumstances in a place held so sacred by the Hindus and around which their closest sympathies are gathered, is a constant source of heart-burnings and feuds both to Hindus and Mahomedans. The former, while unwillingly allowing the latter to retain the mosque, claim the courtyard between it and the wall as their own. Consequently, they will not permit the Mahomedans to enter the mosque by more than one public entrance, which instead of being in front of that building, is situated on one side of it. The Mahomedans have many times wished to build a gateway in the midst of the spacious platform in front of the mosque, but although they once erected a gateway, they were not suffered to make use of it, on account of the excitement which the circumstance occasioned among the Hindu population, which was only allayed by the timely interference of the Magistrate of Benares. The gateway still stands, but the space between the pillars has been filled up. A peepul tree, adored as a god, overhangs both the gateway and the road; but the Hindus will not allow the Mahomedans to pluck a single leaf from it. The Collector of Benares, as a kind of trustee of the mosque, still pays periodically the interest of money belonging to it deposited in his hands, notwithstanding the Act lately passed forbidding such a practice.

Between the mosque and the temple of Bisheshwar, is the famous well known as Gyán Bápee or Gyán Kúp, the 'well of knowledge,' in which, as the natives believe, the god Shiva resides. Tradition says, that once on a time no rain fell in Benares for the space of twelve years, and that in consequence great distress was experienced by the inhabitants. In order to provide water for the people, and so to relieve them from the terrible calamity which had befallen them, a *rishi*—one of the mythical beings not exactly divine and certainly not mortal, who to the number of eighty-seven thousand, are revered by the Hindus—grasping the trident of Shiva, dug up the earth at this spot, and forthwith there issued from beneath a copious



supply of water. Shiva, on becoming acquainted with the circumstance, promised to take up his abode in the well and to reside there for ever. It is stated, moreover, that on occasion of the destruction of the old temple of Bisheshwar, a priest took the idol of the temple and threw it down for safety. The natives visit this well in multitudes, and cast in water or flowers and other offerings as a sacrifice to the deity below. The compound mixture thus produced is necessarily in a constant state of putrefaction, and emits a most disgusting odour. The well is surrounded by a handsome low-roofed colonnade, the stone pillars of which are in four rows and are upwards of forty in number. The building is small, but has been designed and executed with considerable taste. It is of very recent date, and was erected in the year 1828 by Sri Maut Baija Bai, widow of Sri Maut Dowlat Rao Sindhia Bahadoor of Gwalior.

Immediately to the east of this colonnade is the figure of a large bull about seven feet high, cut in stone, dedicated to the god Mahadeo; and a few steps farther east is a temple built in honour of the same deity. The bull is a gift of the Rajah of Nepaul, and the temple of the Ranee of Hyderabad. On the south side of the colonnade is an iron palisade, in the enclosure of which are two small shrines, one of white marble, the other of stone, and between them a scaffolding of carved stone, from which a bell is suspended.

Standing in this courtyard, the chief objects in which have been thus briefly described, and looking beyond in a north-westerly direction, the eye falls on a temple about sixty feet in height situated one hundred and fifty yards distant from the mosque. This is Ad-Bisheshwar, that is, the first or original temple of Bisheshwar. The natives in the neighbourhood all regard this shrine as of an epoch anterior to that of the old Bisheshwar, the ruins of which, as already narrated, form a constituent portion of Aurungzebe's mosque. Hence the name attached to it. This temple is surmounted by a large dome, the decaying condition of which is visible in the gaps on its outer surface caused by the falling away of broad thick flakes of cement of which it is composed. The temple below, however, which is faced with slabs of stone as far as the base of the dome, has been lately extensively repaired by a tobaccoist in the neighbourhood, named Ganpat, who has embellished its interior with paintings traced on the walls, making them look fresh and modern. There is really nothing in this temple of an ancient character, but on the eastern side of the enclosure ground becomes considerably elevated, and upon it stand

mosque built of very old materials, the pillars of which date as far back as the Gupta period, and possibly earlier. May not these old stones and pillars be remains of the original Bisheshwar? Formerly a communication was open between the enclosure of Ad-Bisheshwar and the courtyard of Aurungzebe's mosque already described, but it is now closed.

Kāshi Karwat, a sacred well of some repute, is situated a short distance to the east of Ad-Bisheshwar. Besides the vertical opening, there is a passage leading down to the water, which formerly was traversed daily by religious Hindus desirous of approaching the holiest part of the well. A few years ago a fanatic offered himself in sacrifice to Shiva, the god of the well, when the authorities caused the passage to be closed, but on the priests representing that their revenues would greatly suffer were it to be kept permanently shut, permission was given for it to be opened once a week, namely every Monday.

This neighbourhood is exceedingly rich in temples of most elaborate workmanship. Some of them from the summit to the base are one mass of curious and intricate carving. Not that the designs represented on them, although in some cases elegant, display any remarkable reach of thought; yet the execution of them is a marvellous feat of chiselling. On the south side of Bisheshwar stands one such temple. The gateways leading into the courtyard and into the fane itself, are both extensively carved, and in addition the latter is crowded with figures intermingled with a multitude of short gilded spires.

Proceeding a little beyond these temples, we come to a small shrine dedicated to Sanichar, or the planet Saturn. The deity within, representing the planet, exhibits a silver head, beneath which depends an apron or what has the appearance of such. The truth is, the idol is bodiless, and the apron conceals the want. A garland of flowers hangs from either ear, falling below the chin; while above the figure a canopy is spread, designed, we imagine, to illustrate the majesty of the god. It is said of this deity, that for seven years and a half he troubles the life of every man, but that he exempts his own worshippers from the trials and disasters which for this period he brings on the rest of mankind.

A few steps further on is Anpoorna, a goddess of great repute in Benares, inasmuch as, under the express orders of Bisheshwar, she is supposed to feed all its inhabitants and to take care that none suffer from hunger. The people have a tradition, that when Benares was first inhabited, Anpoorna found that the task of feeding so many persons was too heavy for her. Filled with anxiety she knew not what step to take. The



goddess of the Ganges or Gunga, generously came to her relief, and told her that if she would give a handful of *gram* to every applicant, she herself would give a *lotah* of water. Anpoorna was comforted with the suggestion, in which she acquiesced; and the arrangement thus made produced the most satisfactory results. In honour of Anpoorna, the nourisher of the people, a custom prevails among all classes, by which hundreds and even thousands of the poor are daily supplied with food. It is this. Those persons that can afford it put aside a quantity of gram and moisten it over night, and in the morning give it away in handfuls to the poor. Only one handful is given to each person, but as he and all the members of his family can each procure a handful, after collecting a supply from a number of donors, they are able by the middle of the day to obtain in the aggregate a goodly quantity, which they first dry, and then either cook for the relief of their mutual wants, or sell in the bazar. We have been told that the great consumption in this way of this particular kind of grain, is one reason why its price is so high in Benares.

On the ground in front of the entrance to the temple of Anpoorna, beggars are seated during most of the day, some of whom have cups in their hands into which the worshippers as they go in and out of the temple throw minute quantities of grain or rice. Passing through the doorway into the quadrangle, a similar system of almsgiving and almstaking displays itself. The priests of the temple too receive offerings for the poor, in addition to the presents appropriated to themselves. In one corner of the enclosure is a stone box, which is the common treasury for the reception of the gifts intended for this object. In it may be seen a singular medley of rice, grain, water, flowers, milk, &c., which, though perhaps not distressing to a Hindu's stomach, would upset a European's. Not that the whole of this medley is eaten, but the rice and grain and other edible substances are separated from the rest and distributed among the applicants.

The temple of Anpoorna was erected 150 years ago by the Rajah of Poona. It possesses a tower, and also a dome which is carved and ornamented after the Hindu fashion. The dome is sustained by pillars, between which a bell is suspended, which is kept almost constantly sounding, for, as soon as one worshipper leaves it, another, having performed his devotions, takes his place in beating it. The bells in this and other Hindu temples are not rung, but are beaten with the clapper or tongue depending from within. The carved portions of this temple were once partially or entirely painted, and the painting in the interstices is still

visible. The goddess within the temple is regarded by the natives as a handsome creature. She exhibits the weakness of her sex in her fondness for ornaments, for in addition to her necklace of jewels and silver eyes, she occasionally wears a mask of gold or burnished copper, and thus endeavours to increase her charms and fascinate her beholders. The temple occupies a large portion of the quadrangle, and stands in its centre. In one corner of this quadrangle is a small shrine dedicated to the Sun. The idol representing the Sun is seated in a chariot drawn by seven horses, and is surrounded by a glory indicative of the rays of light which he emits from his person in all directions. In a second corner is another shrine, in which is an image of Gouri Shankar and the stone box or receptacle before alluded to. In a third is a large figure of Hanumán, the monkey god, in bas-relief; and in a fourth a figure of Ganesh, with the head of an elephant and the body of a man.

Not far from the temple of Anpoorna is the temple of Sháki Binaik, or the 'witness-bearing Binaik.' Pilgrims on completing the journey of the Panch-kosi road must pay a visit to this shrine, in order that the fact of their pilgrimage may be verified. Should they neglect to do this, all their pilgrimage would be without merit and profit. The temple is in a square, and was erected by a Mahratta about 100 years ago. On the road between these two temples is a red glaring figure of the god Ganesh, with silver hands, trunk, feet, ears, and poll, squatting down on the floor which is raised a little above the pathway. The oddity of this painted monster would excite one's laughter, were the mind not distressed at the thought that it received divine honours.

Near the temple of Bisheshwar and to the south of Sanichar is a small shrine dedicated to the planet Venus or Shukreshwar, which is visited by persons desirous of becoming the parents of handsome sons. It is said that this god will bestow a fine son on his worshippers even though Fate should not have conferred one on them; and so long as he lives in Benares he will pass his time happily, and at death will depart to Shiva.

The temple of Bhaironath is situated upwards of a mile to the north of the temple of Bisheshwar. The god of this shrine, as already described, is in public estimation the deified kotwal or chief magistrate of Benares and its suburbs as far as the Panch-kosi road, within the circuit of which, under the orders of his royal master Bisheshwar, he exercises divine authority over both gods and men. He is bound to keep the city free from evil spirits and evil persons; and should he find any such within its sacred precincts, to expel them forthwith. As it is through his



care and energy that its inhabitants and all others who may conceive the pious design of ending their days in this hallowed spot, eventually, it is supposed, obtain salvation, it is of the utmost importance that he perform the functions of his high office wisely and well. It is a natural result therefore of his possessing such vast authority, that for the execution of his orders he should have deemed it right to arm himself with a big stick. This stick is no figment of the imagination, but a veritable cudgel of enormous thickness, not indeed of wood, but, what is more terrible, of stone. It is called Dandpán, from *danda* a stick, and in common belief is nothing less than divine. Whether from a desire to enjoy as much tranquillity as possible or from the universal Hindu custom to shift anxiety and trouble from one shoulder to another, we cannot say, but Bhairo has considerably issued his commands to it, to beat any person who may be found working mischief; and having done so has resigned himself to a life of ease. So that in fact this intelligent stick is *de facto* the divine magistrate of the city. It is strange, however, that the temple in which Dandpán is deposited is not that of Bhaironath, but is another situated at a short distance off. The stone representing this singular deity is about four feet in height, and is specially worshipped every Tuesday and Sunday by a great many people. It is set up on end, the upper extremity receiving occasionally the adjunct of a silver mask or face, but when our wondering eyes beheld it, there was only the bare stone visible with a garland depending from the upper extremity. In front of the stick three bells were hanging, and on one side a priest sat with a rod in his hands made of peacock's feathers, with which in the name of Dandpán he gently tapped the worshippers, and thereby professedly inflicted punishment upon them for the offences of which they were guilty. In this temple are other remarkable objects, which will be presently referred to. The worship of Dandpán, and the functions attributed to this extraordinary divinity, constitute a climax of absurdity. But the Hindu is as solemn in the presence of the divine stick administering, as he imagines, divine justice, as though it were the chief judge of the Sudder Adawlut, and is totally unconscious of the ludicrous position he occupies.

But to return to Bhaironath. The wall on either side of the door leading into the enclosure is decorated with paintings. On the right is a large figure of Bhaironath or Bhairo (for he possesses both titles) himself, depicted in a deep blue colour approaching to black; and behind him is the figure of a dog intended for him to ride on. This animal is called Váhan, and in the neighbourhood of the temple the sweetmeat-seller makes small

images of a dog in sugar, which the worshippers purchase and present to Bhaironath as an offering. On the left side of the doorway is a larger figure of a dog; and above it are ten small paintings representing the ten incarnations of Vishnu. The door itself is carved and embellished not inelegantly. On passing through into the quadrangle, one is struck with the confined position of the temple, which fills up a large portion of the entire area, so that from the quadrangle itself it is impossible to gain more than a very limited view of its upper part. The base of the tower is on three sides built of plain stone terminating in a castellated parapet, from within which the beautifully carved steeple rises to a considerable height. The shaft is surrounded by an immense number of tiny domes ascending in successive series up to the apex, which consists of a gilded dome.

The entrance to the temple is on the north side. In front of the shrine occupied by the idol is the porch or more properly the belfry, in which four bells are suspended. This porch rests upon pillars, and is painted and decorated according to Hindu taste and after the most approved models. A devotee is seated to the right and left of the porch with a rod of peacock's feathers by his side, with which he performs mesmeric passes over children, women, and other people, and thereby it is believed wards off from them imps and evil spirits, who may wish to do them harm. He also keeps in a prominent position a cup made from a cocoa-nut shell into which he expects a proper amount of pice to be thrown to pay for the mysterious operation. The threshold of the shrine is guarded by two idols called severally *Dwárpáleshwar*, which stand in niches one on either side of the doorway. The trident too with prongs painted red, symbol of Bhaironath's authority, stands upright by the wall. The interior of the shrine consists a small room, and on one side of it is a diminutive shrine made entirely of copper, which is the habitation of the god Bhaironath. The idol is of stone, but his face is of silver. He possesses four hands, and stands in a grotesque posture. His head is encinctured with garlands, which hang down in front; and a small oil lamp is kept burning near by. A priest sits close by and applies *kundee*, a kind of dun-coloured powder, to the temples of the worshippers. The shrine is surmounted by a dome, which is also of copper, and a bell is suspended in front. As both the god and his priests have a liking for ardent spirits, this is one of the offerings presented to him. Dogs are permitted to enter the interior of his temple, which is owing doubtless to the circumstance of his having selected the dog as his *Váhan*; but they are not permitted to enter other temples.



This building was erected upwards of forty years ago by Bajee Rao of Poonah, on the site of the old temple, a small edifice which was thrown down to make room for the new one. Outside the quadrangle on the south side is a small shrine remarkable for the evident antiquity of some of the idols in it. One of these is a figure of Bhaironath himself, now much defaced from the wear and tear of time. It is not improbable that this is the original Bhaironath, which was discarded on account of its mutilated appearance and in order to make room for the modernized deity. There are other images in this temple, among them Mahadeo, Ganesh, and Surajnarain or the Sun.

On the west side of the quadrangle, a few paces up a narrow court, is a shrine dedicated to Sítála, or the goddess of small-pox. In it are seven figures in bas-relief representing seven sisters—for this dreaded goddess is in reality a seven-fold deity. She has four temples devoted to her worship in Benares.

A short distance east of Bhaironath, and between it and Dandpán, is a temple sacred to Naugrah, or the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Ráhu, and Ketú. The first seven bear in Hindi the names of the seven days of the week beginning with Sunday. The Naugrah in popular estimation is a very formidable collection of deities. It is customary for the Hindus to commence every important religious ceremony, as, for instance, that of marriage, with the worship of them, for unless they be propitiated they may vitiate the entire ceremony. The idols are placed in the temple in three rows, three being in each row. The temple remains closed all the day long, but is opened every morning, when a priest comes and performs *puja*, that is, worships the idols and presents the necessary offerings. This is the only temple dedicated to Naugrah in Benares.

Proceeding down this narrow street and passing under an archway to the left, you come to the temple of Dandpán, already partially described. Here is also a famous well called Kál-kúp, or the Well of Death. Over the trellis-work of the outer wall of the building is a square hole, which is so situated in relation to the sun that at twelve o'clock in the day its rays passing through the hole impinge upon the water in the well below. At this hour of the day the well is visited by persons wishing to search into the secrets of the Future; and woe be to the man who is unable to trace the shadow of himself in the fatal water, for his doom is certainly and irrevocably fixed, and within six months from that instant he will inevitably die. The general ignorance respecting the explanation of this daily phenomenon, does not speak much for the scientific knowl-

of the Hindus or even for their common sense. Under the same roof is an image of Mahá-Kál, or Great Death. This god virtually bestows salvation on his worshippers, for on their departure from the world he spreads over them the ægis of his protection, and prohibits Kál or Death from conveying them to the regions of Hell. Here likewise are the figures of the five brothers, or Páñch Pandua, whose names are celebrated in the Mahábhárat.

No lover of the marvellous should pass through Benares without paying a visit to Mankarnika, the famous well of Hindu mythology. It is the first place sought after by the thousands of pilgrims flocking yearly to the holy city, who are drawn towards it by a mysterious and irresistible fascination. Its fetid water is regarded as a healing balm, which will infallibly wash away all the sins of the soul and make it pure and holy. There is no sin so heinous or abominable, which in popular estimation it cannot instantly efface. Even for the crime of murder it can it is said procure forgiveness. No wonder therefore that conscience-stricken sinners should rush to this well from all quarters, and deluding themselves by its reputed sanctity, should by the easy process of washing in its foulness, seek to atone in one minute for the crimes and sins of a life-time. Yet it is appalling to think that the human soul, thus conscious of its guilt and perhaps in many instances in agony respecting it, and anxious for pardon and for reconciliation with God, should be so cruelly mocked and deceived. Of all places of pilgrimage throughout Hindostan this well is held by many to be the most, or among the most, efficacious for bestowing salvation. Yet the story connected with its origin is wild enough. The author of *Káshi Khand*, not in jest, as some might suppose, but gravely and soberly, furnishes the following account of the matter:—

‘The god Vishnu,’ he says, ‘dug this well with his discus, and in the place of water filled it with the perspiration from his own body, and gave it the name of *chakr-pushkarni*. He then proceeded to its north side and began to practise asceticism. In the meantime the god Mahadeo arrived and looking into the well beheld in it the beauty of a hundred millions of suns, with which he was so enraptured that he at once broke out into loud praises of Vishnu, and in his joy declared that whatever gift he might ask of him he would grant. Gratified at the offer, Vishnu replied that his request was that Mahadeo should always reside with him. Mahadeo hearing this, felt greatly flattered by it, and his body shook with delight. From the violence of the motion



'an ear-ring called Mankarnik fell from his ear into the well. From this circumstance Mahadeo gave the well the name of Mankarnika and endowed it with two properties, the first Muktsheer, that of bestowing salvation on its worshippers, and the second Puransubhakarni, that of granting accomplishment to every good work; and commanded that it should be the chief and most efficacious of pilgrimages.'

Such is the tale as found in Káshi Khand; but there is another version current among the people, which is just as likely to be correct. It is reported that Mahadeo and his wife Párbati were one day seated by the well, when accidentally a jewel fell from the ear of Párbati into the water, on account of which circumstance Mahadeo named the well Mankarnika. Mr. Prinsep, in his 'Views of Benares,' makes the following remarks on this subject:—'After Kashi had been created by the united will of Iswur and Párbati, the two incorporated energies of the formless and quality-less Bruhm, the active pair determined to give their paradise the benefit of an inhabitant, and Poorooshotama (the supreme male, Vishnoo,) became manifest. Shiva gave him instructions how to behave himself, and left him to his own meditations; whereupon, as a first exploit, with his chakra or discus, he dug the tank denominated from its origin the chakr-pushkarni. He then engaged in the usual course of austerity, at the sight of which Shiva shook his head in astonishment, and one of his ear-rings fell; whence the name of the ghat Manikarnika (jewel of the ear.) Vishnoo upon this spot also obtained as a boon from Mahadeo the privilege which Kashi enjoys, of giving *mookti* or emancipation to all objects, especially those who bestow gifts, erect *lingas*, and do not commit suicide within the holy precincts.'

A series of stone steps on each of the four sides of the well leads down to the water. The seven lowermost steps are said to be without a join, and to belong to the original well as built by divine hands, and although the singular fact of several joins being visible is to the uninitiated a slight difficulty in the way of such an assertion, yet the Hindus, brushing aside such a trivial circumstance, readily swallow the explanation given by the Brahmins, that the joins are only superficial and do not penetrate through the stones. Upon the stairs, in a niche on the north side, is a figure of Vishnu; and at the mouth of the well on the west side is a row of sixteen diminutive altars on which pilgrims present offerings to their ancestors. The water of the well is very shallow, being not more than two or three feet in depth. It is insufferably foul, and the effluvia from it impregnate the air for some distance around. The wor-

shipper descending into the water laves his head and body with the vile liquid, and at the same time utters certain phrases appointed for the ceremony.

Directly in front of Mankarnika and between it and the Ganges, is the temple of Tárakeshwar, or the god of salvation. When a Hindu dies and this god is propitiated, he breathes into his ear, they say, a charm or *mantra* of such efficacy that it delivers him from the misery of the Future and secures for him happiness and joy. The idol is in a kind of cistern, which is kept filled with water offered in sacrifice; and consequently is invisible. In the rainy season the swollen river flows beyond this temple, which for several months stands imbedded in the stream. Its foundations are thereby undermined, and the blocks of stone of which it is composed are prone to separate from one another. The upper part of the tower has been entirely removed, in order to lessen the weight resting upon the base of the building.

Upon the Mankarnika Ghaut, on higher ground than that occupied by the Tárakeshwar temple, is a large round slab called charan-páduka projecting slightly from the pavement, and in the middle of it stands a stone pedestal, the top of which is inlaid with marble. In the centre of the marble are two small flat objects representing the two feet of Vishnu. The tradition is, that this deity selected this exact spot for the performance of ascetic rites and the worship of Mahadeo. It is consequently held in great veneration by the natives, and receives divine honours. In the month Kartik multitudes of people flock to Vishnu's feet, imagining that all who worship them are guaranteed a sure introduction to heaven. Mr. Prinsep observes, that 'the charan-páduka (impression of Vishnu's feet,) is said to mark the spot on which he alighted. It is distinguished by the figure of two feet cut in white marble in the centre of a round slab, probably intended to represent the *chakr* or discus; but as the *charan* is generally thought to be peculiar to Buddha and Jain places of worship, the emblem is probably of modern and spurious introduction where it is here set up. There is another *páduka* near the mouth of the Burna Nála.'

The Mankarnika Ghaut, while the most sacred of all the ghauts in Benares, is also the middle point between them all, so that, were the city divided into two portions at this place, they would be nearly equal in extent. Ascending the second flight of stairs we come to a temple of ancient reputation, but probably of modern construction, occupied by Sidh-binaik, or Ganesh. Imagine a figure painted red, having three eyes, a silver-plated scalp ornamented with a garland of flowers, and



an elephant's trunk, this last member being hidden behind a cloth which conceals a large portion of the idol, and in front is so tucked in as to resemble the cloth which a barber wraps about a man previous to shaving him. At the feet of the god is the figure of a rat, the animal on which he is supposed to ride, and also a miniature fountain. On either side of the inner shrine is a statue of a woman, one being called Sidhy, and the other Budhy.

Near to Mankarnika Ghaut is Sindhia Ghaut, which is remarkable not only for the massiveness of its masonry, but also for the circumstance that the entire structure has sunk several feet into the earth since its erection, and is still gradually and slowly sinking. The ghaut consists of three rows of towers or turrets. The uppermost row possesses two turrets, one at each extremity, which are the largest of the whole and are exceedingly heavy. The second lower down has six turrets, and the third, five. These turrets are called *murrees* by the natives, and are used by them for sitting upon in the cool of the day, or for retiring to after bathing in the Ganges. They are of stone, and are connected together by walls and stairs of the same material. Before the ghaut could be completed the masonry began to sink; and on one occasion so violent was the motion that a loud report like the discharge of cannon was heard. A temple to the left of the south turret is rent from the summit to the base, and the entire building is so dilapidated that it looks as if it had been shaken by an earthquake. The ghaut itself, and also the stairs leading up to the top of the huge breastwork uniting the two largest turrets, exhibit an immense rent which is carried down to the very base of the ghaut. The breastwork likewise together with the turrets is out of its perpendicular, and has a remarkable appearance. In some places the stones are more than two feet apart. The people residing in the neighbourhood say, that the ghaut has sunk some ten or twelve feet in all, and that inasmuch as stair after stair continually though slowly vanishes, they know that the subsidence is still going on. This ghaut was built by Baija Bai, the same lady who erected the colonnade round the well Gyán Bápee—but it is not yet completed, and there is no hope that it ever will be.

The temple of Bridhkál, situated on the northern side of the city, is interesting both for its antiquity and extent, as well as for the singular legends connected with its primitive history. It formerly possessed twelve separate courts or quadrangles, but now only seven are in existence, and several of these are fast falling into ruin. Indeed the aspect of the entire building is

that of decay. The site of the other five courts and of the gardens once attached to the temple, is occupied by dwelling houses. When this shrine was in its glory it must have been a place of some magnificence. The pile of buildings now standing has a hoary appearance, the effect of which is greatly increased by its ruinous condition. The tradition respecting the origin of the temple is, that in the Satjug an old Rajah in ill-health visited Benares, and there diligently performed ascetic rites and religious ceremonies. The god Mahadeo was so gratified with the piety of the old man, that he not only dispelled his sickness, but also caused him to become young again. In honour of this deity, therefore, the Rajah erected the present temple, and gave it the name of *Bridhkál*, which is a compound of two words 'bridh' or more properly 'vridhh' and 'kál,' the former meaning *old*, and the latter *time*. Mahadeo endowed it with two remarkable properties, the one, that of healing disease, and the other, that of prolonging life. The temple is one of the oldest in the city, and stands on the boundary of Benares Proper, indisputably the most ancient portion of the city, where it unites itself with Káshi, a less ancient portion.

On ascending the steps and traversing the passage running from the doorway to the inner part of the edifice, we are met by a red figure of Mahábír standing within a shrine at the corner of a court into which the passage leads. Close by, to the right, is a small temple dedicated to the goddess Kálee—a small black deity cut out of stone dressed in a red garment with a garland of flowers hanging from the neck. In front of her is a hollow space in the form of a square, for the residence of Mahadeo; and outside of it a bull for the god to ride on.

To the right of Kálee, leaning upon the wall, are figures of Ganesh and Párbati, and to the left of the latter are images representing Bhairó, the Sun, Hanumán, and Lachminarain or Vishnu, and his wife Lachmi. Immediately opposite to the temple of Kálee are two wells. The first is shallow, and contains putrid water, whose disgusting odour fills the entire court. Into this well sick persons and those wishing for long life plunge their bodies. The former also take various medicines and resort to other useful means for regaining their health, and should they recover, the fetid well gets the credit of their restoration. Should the disease however be of an inveterate character, such as leprosy or elephantiasis, they must constantly bathe in the well for a period of twelve years. Instead of showing us a man who had been cured, they brought a leper who had strongly defined marks of leprosy on his legs. He was trying the efficacy



of the bath, and said he was better than when he had first arrived. The water of the well is reported to be impregnated with sulphur, in which case it would doubtless be very serviceable in some diseases, especially those affecting the skin. In conjunction with washing in this well, it is necessary also to drink of the water of the second well, which, unlike the other, contains sweet water and has a raised parapet round its mouth. Near the wall of the court is a collection of stone deities, all representing the lingam. They are nine in number, of which several are apparently very old. Two stone figures of *suttees* have also been placed here in commemoration of the self-immolation of widows on this spot in former times.

To the right of the court is a small square with a temple in the middle dedicated to Mahadeo. A serpent is entwined about the chief idol, which is called Nágeshwar, or the serpent-god. The central deity is surrounded by others of smaller stature. Passing beyond this square we come to another, in which two peepul trees and one neem tree are growing. This quadrangle has no temple in it, but is used as a residence for devotees. Close by is another quadrangle, the residence of the deity Bridhkál. The shrine within contains two compartments, one of which Bridhkál occupies. He sits in a cistern, while over his head hangs a small brass vessel filled with water which drops through a hole upon him without intermission. Though only a plain stone or lingam, he is regarded as a very sacred object. In a niche in the verandah is an antique image of the elephant-headed god Ganesh. There is another shrine in the area of this quadrangle, flat-roofed and containing an image of Hanumán.

Returning to the court in which the wells are situated, and passing through a corridor to the north, we come to a small enclosure, the walls of which are in a dilapidated condition. Here are two shrines of considerable interest on account of the singular legends associated with them. That on the right is called Markandeshwar. Markande was a rishi whom Mahadeo, it is said, for his piety endowed with immortality, and who, in acknowledgment of the honour, dedicated this temple to Mahadeo. That on the left is called Dakhsheshwar, the legend respecting whom fills several pages of Káshi Khand. The tale as revealing some strange events connected with the domestic life of the ruling god of Benares, is worth knowing. Rajah Dakhsh, one of the heroes of the story, is still famous in Benares, and was no doubt a real personage.

The wife of Shiva, it seems, although a goddess, dies like common mortals; but unlike them, shortly after her death is

born again into the world, and assuming another name, on arriving at maturity is always married to the same husband, namely Mahadeo or Shiva. On one occasion, the story goes, Mahadeo assembled for some purpose all the gods of heaven and earth. His wife Suttee was also there, and likewise her father, Rajah Dakhsh. It appears that Mahadeo neglected to pay proper respect to his father-in-law in the presence of the deities; and, consequently, on departing, the Rajah relieved his feelings by showering upon him the following abuse:—‘You have neither caste nor habitation, and yet have taken to yourself a wife. You are naked, and wear long hair, and lie down on a tiger’s skin. You never had father or mother. Your body is covered with ashes, and at the end of the world you will destroy everybody. I have committed a great mistake in giving you my daughter to wife.’ After this mental relief the Rajah went home and prepared a great religious festival, to which he invited all the gods and rajahs, with the exception of Mahadeo and his wife. These latter did not know what was occurring, but Nárad Muni came to them and told them all about it. On hearing of the circumstance Suttee requested permission to go to her father’s house and see for herself what was the real state of the case. But Mahadeo urged that she had not been invited to the feast, and therefore declined to permit her to go. At last he yielded to her importunity, and she went. On arriving, only her mother paid her the slightest deference—all the rest of her family treating her with marked indifference. When the feast was served she received her portion, but her husband’s share, which ought in his absence to have been given to her, was withheld. At this neglect Suttee became exceedingly angry, and beat her head upon the ground in passionate frenzy. Moreover, the heavens themselves sent down a shower of blood in token of their sympathy with her. Several of the gods too of the party, disapproving of Rajah Dakhsh’s proceeding, rose and left. On their departure, Suttee becoming still more excited sought out the hole in which the sacrifice was being consumed, and throwing herself into it, was burnt to ashes. When Nárad Muni brought news of this sad catastrophe to Mahadeo, his wrath rose to fierceness, and, creating an army of demons, he placed it under the command of Bírbbhadra, a demon of giant strength, and sent it against the Rajah, with orders to kill him and to vitiate his sacrificial ceremony. On the way Bírbbhadra plucked up forests and mountains and carried them along in his hands. Having reached the Rajah’s palace the demons flew upon the people, slaughtered right and left, and devoured *the viands* provided for the sacred feast. The



invincible Bîrbhadra sought out the Rajah, and on finding him seized him with his hands, and crying out, 'why did you blaspheme the god Mahadeo?' cut off his head.

This bloody work being finished, Bramhà, the first of the three deities placed at the head of the Hindu pantheon, proceeded in great consternation to Mahadeo, with whom he reasoned and expostulated respecting the awful calamity which had just occurred, and prevailed on him to accompany him to the scene of the recent carnage. On reaching the place Mahadeo's heart was smitten with compassion for the slain; and he gave orders that all the gods, rishis, and rajahs, should be again gathered together, as well the living as the dead. The heads, arms, legs, and other members, which had been lopped off the killed and wounded during the conflict, were also collected, and were severally joined afresh to the bodies to which they belonged. Thus Mahadeo healed all the wounded, and restored to life all the slain. But in the search for the lopped-off members, Rajah Dakhsh's head could nowhere be found. The god, however, commanded that a goat should be brought to him, the head of which being cut off was stuck upon the trunk of the Rajah's body, which became forthwith reanimated with its former life. After this, the sacrifice which had been so violently interrupted, was completed. Mahadeo then left with all his demons for his residence on the Keilàs mountain. The rest of the deities also left with the exception of Bramhà, who remained behind in order to talk with Rajah Dakhsh, to whom he represented in its true colours the heinous sin he had committed in blaspheming Mahadeo, and in utterly spoiling the sacred festival, the sacrifice at which could not possibly be performed without the presence of that deity. He concluded by recommending the Rajah to visit Benares, and there to dedicate an idol to Mahadeo, and thus seek for forgiveness from him. In accordance with this advice the Rajah forsook his throne and his dominions, and proceeded to Benares, where he dedicated an idol to Mahadeo, and applied himself to the performance of ascetic and other religious rites. There he remained for many years. In the meantime, Suttée, the wife of Mahadeo, who had perished in the sacrificial fire, was born again among mortals under the name of Pàrbati, her father this time being Rajah Hewanehal Gir; and on arriving at womanhood she was again married to her former husband, Mahadeo. The happy couple travelled to Benares for the purpose of spending their honeymoon, and while there what was their surprise to see old goat-headed Rajah Dakhsh, who was still absorbed in his religious exercises. He too was doubtless equally astonished to see Mahadeo, whom of

course he recognized, although his mental eyes were closed in regard to Párbati, whom he did not imagine to be his own daughter Sutte. The Rajah pleaded with Mahadeo for the forgiveness of his sin. The god heard his petition, and granted it. And the old man filled with joy dedicated a shrine to Mahadeo called Daksheshwar, which is said to be that situated in the interior of the temple of Bridhkál. This tale is as entertaining as many of the legends connected with the Black Forest, the only difference, though an essential one, being, that they are designed for amusement and fun, whereas this, strangely enough, is intended for the promotion of religion.

Leaving this temple and proceeding along the street by its southern wall, we come to a shrine standing at its south-western angle and forming part of the Bridhkál edifice. Its name is Alapmriteshwar, from the god to whom it is dedicated, who, it is reported, is endowed with the miraculous power of prolonging the lives of persons apparently just about to die. The fame of this shrine is considerable; and it is the resort of a large number of worshippers who seek for themselves and their friends an escape from sickness and death. In the streets leading to the Bridhkál temple a *mela* or fair is held every Sunday, and once a year in the month Sáwan one on a large scale is held which lasts for several days. These *melas* are partly of a religious and partly of a secular character, but their primary intention is the worship of some celebrated deity.

In a street leading to Bridhkál a small temple obstructs the thoroughfare, called Rattaneshwar, from 'ratan,' a jewel, and 'Ishwar,' the Divine Being. The shrine is referred to in Hindu writings. A curious circumstance is connected with its modern history. Upwards of thirty years ago, a European magistrate of Benares, while making improvements in the city, determined that this temple should be levelled with the ground. The natives say that one night the god Mahadeo appeared to the sahib in a dream, and, representing to him the great sin he was intending to commit, ordered him to forbear from the execution of such an evil design. On awaking, the sahib in obedience to the divine admonition laid aside his levelling project. It is reported also, and commonly believed, that while digging at the foundations of the temple on this occasion, a jewel was discovered beneath it, but the natives themselves express considerable doubt about its genuineness.

At the distance of a mile from the Fort of Rámnagar, the residence of the Maharajah of Benares, is a handsome temple situated on the eastern side of a capacious tank. Its founda-



tions were laid, and the finest portion of its tower was erected about one hundred years ago by Rajah Cheit Singh, but it was completed by the present Rajah. The temple, including the platform on which it rests, is fully one hundred feet high. Each of its four sides from the base to a height of thirty-five or forty feet is crowded with elaborately carved figures in bas-relief. These are in some places broken, but generally speaking are in a good state of preservation. They are in five rows, six being in a row, so that each side of the tower contains thirty figures, and the four sides one hundred and twenty. As no expense has been spared in the execution of this prodigious work, it may be regarded as fairly representing what Hindu genius in modern times can accomplish in the art of sculpture, and should be visited and studied as such. The lowermost row is filled with elephants, and the next in succession with lions, each of which stands on two small elephants. The lions have very spare bodies, and in this and other respects are grotesquely made, showing that the sculptors had no living model before them, and drew powerfully upon their own imaginations. The three upper rows exhibit diverse figures of deities, incarnations, and other sacred objects. The three goddesses of the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Saraswati, have each a separate niche. Krishna too has his place, but he is not alone, for two of his favourite gopis or milk-maids are close by. Indra, the king of the gods, Bramhá, Vishnu, and Mahadeo or Shiva, the three deities of the Hindu trinity, Kuver, the treasurer of Indra, Bhairo, the divine magistrate of Benares, the god Ram and his wife Sita, Hanuman, the monkey-god, Ganesh, the elephant-headed god, Baldeo, brother of Krishna, the Sawkadik, or four brothers of Brahmá, are each honoured with a statue. Here too is Vayu, or the Wind, Suraj, or the Sun, Agni, or Fire, and Chandarmá, or the Moon, the latter having rays of glory darting from her head and being seated in a carriage drawn by two deer. A number of sacred personages or rishis also are represented, such as Jumbur, Nárad, and Gajendra Moksh, and likewise a terrible demon with a thousand hands called Sahasr Bábhú, whom Parasráam fought and killed. In the centre of the uppermost row on the south side is a figure of the goddess Durga, wife of Mahadeo; and in a similar position on the east side is a figure of the bloody goddess Mahá-Kálee, who thirsts continually for human victims. In a niche on the north side a strange feat of Krishna is depicted. This humorous deity, it is said, on one occasion, diverted the homage and adoration due to Indra to himself, at which Indra became exceedingly indignant, and determined to punish the worshippers of Krishna who had

dishonoured him and had defrauded him of his rights. Gathering together the clouds of heaven he commenced pouring down upon the earth a prodigious flood of water, with the object of drowning the people, but Krishna lifting up the mountain Gobardhan held it over the country like an umbrella balanced on his little finger, so that for the space of one hundred and sixty miles no rain fell, and the people were preserved in safety. In the sculpture Krishna is seen standing with his hand held up supporting the mountain on the extremity of his little finger, while cattle are grazing in perfect security below.

On each of the four sides of the tower are two gilded faces surrounded by a halo one above the other, emblematic of the Sun; and on the apex of the tower is a *chatr* or round, flat, gilded object, intended to serve the purpose of a glory to the head of Durga in the shrine below. On the platform facing three of the entrances to the temple are three figures in marble, one of which, namely that opposite to the south door, consists of a Nandi, or bull designed for the service of Mahadeo. A second is opposite the north door, and is a Garur, a being in the form of a man with wings behind the shoulders. The countenance is pleasing, and has been executed with much delicacy of taste. The statue is surrounded by an iron palisade tipped with small brass nobs.

In front of the main entrance is the third figure, which is that of a lion, intended as the Váhan or riding-animal of Durga. Over the entrance itself are peacocks in bas-relief standing with their heads towards each other. The door is not large, but is ribbed and massive, and is covered with brass, so that viewing it from the front it has the appearance of being made entirely of that metal.

The interior of the temple is like most Hindu shrines, confined and gloomy. Directly opposite the door stands the goddess Durga. Her body is of marble covered with gold, and is arrayed in a yellow dress partially concealed by a scarf. The image is in a small shrine, in front of which is a table on which lie various vessels used at the hour of sacrifice. It is over this table and before the face of the idol that the sacred fire is waved. To the left is another table of smaller dimensions, which, when we saw it, was completely covered with white blossoms of flowers; and near by in a niche in the wall are two idols representing Krishna and his wife Rádha. To the right of Durga is her five-headed husband Shiva.

The tank and a garden in the neighbourhood were also the work of Rajah Cheit Singh. The former is surrounded by a spacious ghaut, the stairs of which are built of stone. On occa-



sion of the natives of Benares proceeding on pilgrimage to this spot, they are accustomed to bathe in the tank, and at one and the same time large crowds may be seen assembled on the stairs; but so extensive are the ghauts that hundreds of persons might dress and undress upon them without incommoding one another. The tank is a square, at each corner of which is a temple. The pilgrims who come to bathe, therefore, pass and repass at least one temple.

The object of the pilgrimage to Rámnagar is somewhat amusing. It said that Veda Vyás, the compiler of the Vedas, once paid a visit to Rámnagar, intending to proceed to Benares, but on reaching this place and beholding the city in the distance, his soul was so ravished with delight that he did not desire to enter the city itself. Remaining at Rámnagar he commemorated his visit by the institution of a pilgrimage, which should conduce to the welfare of its inhabitants and of all others placed in their circumstances. The sanctity of Rámnagar, it appears, was never equal to that of Benares, and while all persons who died in the latter place necessarily obtained after death happiness and heaven, all those, on the contrary, who died in former had the misfortune to enter upon another life in the degraded and miserable condition of an ass. It was consequently the custom, report says, in the age of Veda Vyás, and is still, for persons residing on the Rámnagar side of the river, which is called *magah*, when taken seriously ill to repair to the Benares side, in order if death should come to die there, and so escape the asinine existence of the next birth. Veda Vyás, however, taking pity on the *magah* land, established at Rámnagar a *tírath* or pilgrimage to be observed in the month Mágh (January-February,) promising that whoever attended it should be delivered from the danger of becoming an ass after death. Not only do the people of Rámnagar perform this pilgrimage, but great multitudes from Benares likewise resort thither, that they may make their own deliverance from assdom doubly sure. Pilgrims continually arrive during the whole of the month, but Mondays and Fridays are days especially preferred, and on which the assemblages are greatest.

There is a temple dedicated to Veda Vyás in the Rajah's fort at Rámnagar. It is situated above the parapet overlooking the river. The approach to it is by the main stairs or ghaut leading up from the Ganges into the fort. Upon the stairs to the left, in a small shrine, is a richly-dressed figure of Gunga, or the goddess of the Ganges in white marble, seated on a crocodile and having a crown on her head. She has four hands, one of which hangs down, a second is uplifted, a third grasps a lotus,

and a fourth a *lota* or brass vessel. Proceeding to the top of the stairs and turning to the left you enter a court bounded on one side by the parapet of the fort, and open to the sky. Here are several shrines. In the first Mahadeo resides. Another rests against the trunk of the Asokh Biro tree, and contains various small deities. Near to this shrine is a platform, and upon it a temple bearing the name of Veda Vyás. There is however no image of him inside, and the object of worship is the emblem of Shiva. On the floor of the platform is a carved disk representing the Sun, and a short distance off a figure of Ganesh.

Allusion has been already made to the Panch-kosi road which encompasses Benares. This famous road forms the boundary of the sacred enclosure, on the extreme east of which the city stands. Its length is about fifty miles. Commencing at the river Ganges and quitting the city at its southern extremity, it pursues its sinuous course far into the country, though never at any time being more distant from Benares than *pánch kos*, that is, five cos, or ten miles. It is reputed to be a very ancient road, but that it is so we have grave doubts, the reasons for which we shall presently bring forward. The celebrated lady, Ranee Bhawani, who erected the Durga temple and tank, repaired also the Panch-kosi and restored some of its temples which had been destroyed by the Mahomedans; and since her time the road has been kept in order. There are now hundreds of shrines scattered along the road, so that the pilgrim as he pursues his journey is constantly reminded of his religious duties. The deities inhabiting these shrines are supposed to perform an important part in preserving the stability, the purity, and the peace of Benares and of the entire enclosure. They are in fact watchmen appointed by the ruling monarch Bisheshwar, to keep the boundary of Benares, and to defend it against all spiritual adversaries.

The Panch-kosi is regarded as an exceedingly sacred road. While even a foot or an inch beyond it the ground is devoid of any special virtue, yet every inch of soil within the boundary is in the Hindu's imagination hallowed. It would seem too that every object, animate and inanimate, existing within the enclosed space participates in the general and all-pervading sanctity. The entire area is called Benares, and the religious privileges of the city are extended to every portion of it. Whoever dies in any spot of this enclosure, is, the natives think, sure of happiness after death; and so wide is the application of this privilege, that it embraces, they say, even Europeans and Mahomedans, even Pariahs and other out-castes, even liars, murder-



ers, and thieves. That no soul can perish in Benares, is the optimist creed of the blind, infatuated idolater.

To perform the pilgrimage of the Panch-kosi, is accounted a very meritorious act. It is necessary that every good Hindu residing in the city of Benares, should once a year accomplish this pilgrimage, in order that the impurity which the soul and body have contracted during the year may be obliterated; for it is held to be impossible to reside even in such a holy city as Benares without contracting some defilement. Not only the inhabitants of Benares, but also multitudes of persons from various parts of India, traverse the road, and seek to obtain the blessing which they are told such a pious act ensures. It is customary for a large number of pilgrims to travel together on this journey. Before setting out each morning they must bathe in a tank or stream, and on terminating their march each day must perform the same rite. They do not permit themselves the luxury of shoes, nor do they relieve the fatigue of the journey by the assistance of either horse or ass or camel or elephant, or of any carriage or cart or vehicle whatever. Anxious to secure a full measure of merit, they cannot afford that it should be lessened by the tricks and arts of civilized life. All, therefore, men, women, and children, rich and poor, princes and peasants, travel on foot: and the only exception to this stringent rule is in the case of the sick and infirm, and it is questionable if even they will obtain such a full meed of merit as the rest. On the way the pilgrims must not eat *pawn*, of which all natives are passionately fond, and must take great care that the Benares side of the road is not defiled. They must not quarrel or give one another bad language, must not receive any present, and must not give any food or water or anything else even to a friend, or take any such things from him. This last requirement has been dictated by a spirit of selfishness, for the pilgrim is so intent on the acquisition of merit that he cannot bring himself to share it with any one, no, not even with his dearest friend. He will render no assistance to his neighbour to enter the gates of heaven unless he can do so without loss to himself. While striving to enter within the sacred gates himself, he will suffer his fainting, foot-sore brother to die upon the road. Such is the hard selfishness of Hinduism. Indeed selfishness is the very root of Hinduism, is its sap and life, is its branches, and blossoms, and fruit.

Starting from the Mankarnika Ghaut, the pilgrim keeps along the banks of the Ganges until he arrives at Assi Sangam or Assi Ghaut, where a tiny stream flows into the great rivers. From this spot he proceeds to a temple of Juggernath close by,

and thence on to the village of Kandhawa, where he stays for the remainder of the day, having performed a journey of six miles. The second day's march is to the village of Dhupchandi, ten miles further on, where he worships the tutelary goddess of this name. On the third day he arrives at Kameshwar after a long walk of fourteen miles. The fourth day brings him to Shiva-pore, where he visits the famous shrine of the Panch Pandua, or five brothers who were all married to one woman.

On this day he travels eight miles, and on the fifth day six more, namely to the village of Kapil-dhara, where he worships the god Mahadeo. The sixth and last stage is from Kapil-dhara to Burna Sangam, and thence to Mankarnika Ghaut, from which he first set out, which also six miles in length. He has thus completed in six days a march of nearly fifty miles, upwards of seven of which, namely the space between Burna Sangam and Assi Sangam, the two extremities of Benares, were on the banks of the Ganges. All the way from Kapil-dhara to Mankarnika Ghaut the pilgrim scatters grains of barley on the ground, which he carries in a bag made for the purpose. This curious custom is in honour of Shiva. On reaching the ghaut he bathes in the river, makes his offering of money to the priests in attendance, and then goes to the temple of Sakhi-binaik, or the witness-bearing Ganesh, in order that the fact of his pilgrimage may be duly attested by that deity, and thence to his home. A few grains of barley are reserved for sacrifice to the idol Jau-binaik or barley-Ganesh, who resides immediately above the Mankarnika Ghaut.

With the exception of the temple of Kardameshwar at Kandhawa, which is of considerable antiquity and is the finest specimen of ancient Hindu architecture in this part of India, no temple along the road can, in our opinion, date farther back than two hundred and fifty years. There may be a few of about this age, but we should say that more than five hundred out of the six hundred temples which we have reckoned to be now standing, have been erected since the English came into possession of India. There are various remains of old sculptures to be found upon it and in its vicinity, but they are few in number. It is exceedingly remarkable that the traces of its antiquity, so far as the buildings upon it are concerned, are so slender, especially when we remember that the Hindus believe it to be of high antiquity.

Moreover, the road is for the most part throughout its whole extent ornamented by a double row of trees, one on either side. Many of them have massive trunks and have a noble appearance. Some of the trunks measure from twelve to seventeen feet in



girth. Most of the trees are mango, and many of those of large size are of this kind. Undoubtedly such trees may fairly be regarded as not of recent planting, nevertheless we do not see that they can lay claim to a greater age than that of the earliest built temples found on the road, excepting of course the temple of Kardameshwar, namely two hundred and fifty years. But it is not improbable that many of the trees were planted by the Hindu lady before mentioned, who repaired the Panch-kosi road on the decline of the Mahomedan power.

None of the five tanks and dharmasálas on this road exhibit any signs of antiquity. It is said that a tank at Bhimchandi has somewhere about it an inscription written upwards of 400 years ago, but if this be true, of which we are very sceptical, it would be only good testimony that this individual tank was of that age, but taken simply by itself would afford no proof of the antiquity of the road. On the northern division of the road towards Kapil Dhâra, certain indisputable marks and signs of age are apparent, but these we hold are not connected with the Panch-kosi road, but rather with Sárnâth and other Buddhist sites in this neighbourhood.

Again, roads which have been trodden for many centuries, not to say, for thousands of years, are commonly much worn, and occasionally sink far below the adjacent soil. The limestone soil of Benares and the surrounding country is no exception to this rule. The old Ghazeepore road which crosses the Panch-kosi to the west of Kapil Dhâra, is in one place several feet below the fields on either side, which circumstance is valid proof of its being, to say the last, somewhat ancient. But the Panch-kosi is throughout on a level with the lands through which it winds its way, or nearly so. If the road were only traversed by a few persons yearly, this argument would be not very strong, but seeing that many thousands of pilgrims pass along it in the course of the year, it is, in our opinion, almost physically impossible that it should be of ancient date. Upon the whole, we are inclined to the belief that previous to the repair of the road by Ranee Bhawâni there was a narrow path only, which the Hindus dreading the vengeance of the Mahomedans occasionally traversed in small numbers, but for how long this path had been a pilgrim's walk, it is impossible to conjecture. From the very great scarcity of old remains, however, it is our firm belief that it can lay no claim whatever to antiquity properly so called; and the probability is that it was originated by some zealous devotee, who conceived the novel idea of honouring the sacred city by describing an immense circle round it, which he first of all trod himself, and which,

doubtless to his surprise, was afterwards trodden by other persons, until gradually the custom was established—an idea no more novel and strange than Hindus every day put in practice.

It ought to be remembered with gratitude by the Hindus of Benares and Northern India generally, that the British Government of India instead of pursuing the destructive and prohibitive policy of the Mahomedan rulers, has taken the Panch-kosi road under its own charge, and in a spirit of beneficence deserving the highest praise, defrays the expenses of its annual repairs. It would be a happy circumstance if Benares itself received the same proportion of attention as this road around it. Threaded with narrow streets, above which rise the many-storied palaces for which the city is famous, it is without doubt a problem of considerable difficulty, how to preserve the health of its teeming population. But when we reflect on the foul wells and tanks in some parts of the city, whose water is of deadly influence, and the vapour from which fills the air with fever-breeding and cholera-breeding miasma; when we consider the loathsome and disgusting state of the popular temples owing to the rapid decomposition of the offerings through the intense heat of the sun; when we call to mind the filthy condition of nearly all the bye-streets from stagnant cesspools, and accumulated refuse, and dead bodies of animals; and when in addition we remember how utterly regardless of these matters, and incompetent to correct them, is the police force scattered over the city, we feel overwhelmed at the vastness of the difficulty before us. The importance however of cleansing the city cannot be over-estimated. And it is because it is at once so immensely important as well as difficult, that the undertaking should not be left in the hands of one man, though he should be the cleverest and most energetic in all India. The Magistrate of Benares and his Assistants, have a multitude of duties to perform, besides watching over the interests of the city, and therefore they are totally unable, and we believe must feel themselves so, to originate and carry out all those schemes of utility which are required. What is needed in Benares is, the establishment of a Municipal corporation similar to that which exists in various other cities in India. Such a body would accomplish great results in promoting in various ways the social welfare of the people. We are satisfied that there is no city in the country where such a corporation is more necessary, and where its establishment would be more beneficial. In other respects too besides those mentioned, we regard the present time as peculiarly favourable



for carrying out this project. The *materiel* of the Government authorities in Benares just now is well adapted for aiding in the promotion of the objects of a municipality. Men of industry and enterprise, as some of them are, would find ample scope for their talents. Europeans of ability, unconnected with the Government, and also natives of influence fitted to render useful assistance, might be readily found. With men like the Maharajah of Vizianagram, Rajah Deo Narain Singh, late member of the Legislative Council of India, and other natives of this stamp, united with well-selected Europeans, men of observation, and capable of deviating, if need be, from old stereotyped forms and beaten tracks, and striking out a path for themselves, the institution of wholesome sanitary reforms, the completion of effectual drainage, the opening out and widening of thoroughfares for the free admission of air, and the purification of the religious edifices, should be a labour undertaken heartily and prosecuted with enthusiasm. Under the auspices of a corporation thus constituted, we should soon see a thorough transformation in the city; but at the same time we are perfectly sure that it is only by such a body that the radical changes so imperatively demanded in this region of palaces and filth, in this hot-bed of periodical disease, can be effected. It is our earnest hope that in these days of progress the time-honoured city of which we have been writing will not be left in the rear, as in some respects it now undoubtedly is; but will soon be ranked amongst the foremost cities in the land in regard to all measures tending to advance the prosperity and happiness of the native community.

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ART. II.—1. *Copy of Papers received from India relating to the measures adopted for introducing the cultivation of the tea plant within the British possessions in India. Printed by order of the House of Commons, 27th February 1839.*

2. *Annual Report of the Administration of the Bengal Presidency for 1863-64.*

3. *Tea Cultivation, Cotton and other Agricultural Experiments in India. By Capt. W. Nassau Lees.*

4. *The Journal of the Agri-Horticultural Society.*

TO Major R. Bruce and to his brother Mr. C. A. Bruce, still we believe living in the district of Tezapore, Assam, is to be ascribed the honour of having in about the year 1825 discovered tea in India. To the latter, a grant of land was lately presented by the Government in recognition of that discovery, and of his subsequent services in fostering the cultivation of the shrub and manufacture of tea. Dr. Wallich writes to the Agent to the Governor-General, North-East Frontier, under date 15th March 1836:—‘It was Mr. Bruce, and his late brother, Major R. Bruce at Jorehauth, who originally brought the Assam tea into public notice, many years ago when no one had the slightest idea of its existence; a fact to which the late Mr. David Scott has borne ample testimony; and it is to Mr. Bruce’s indefatigable exertions that the Muttock and Gubhroo forests have come to light.’

Mr. C. A. Bruce himself writing to the same official under date 20th December 1836, says:—‘At the breaking out of the Burmah war, I offered my services to Mr. Scott, then Agent to the Governor-General, and was appointed to command gunboats. As my command was at Suddya, I was the first who introduced the tea seeds and plants, and sent them to Mr. Scott and other officers below. My late brother, who was in Assam before the breaking out of the war, had previously informed me of their existence, and it was I who verbally informed you of it, and officially brought the subject to your notice in 1833, giving a description of the method of making the tea by the natives. I was the first European who ever penetrated the forests, and visited the tea tracts in British Suddya, and brought away specimens of earth, fruit, and flowers, and the first who discovered numerous other tracts.’



Other claimants to the discovery have, we believe, come forward, but it is now generally admitted that to the brothers Bruce belongs the honour of having been the first European discoverers of the tea plant in India. In 1826 it was found in Munnipoor by Mr. David Scott. In 1831 and 1834 Lieutenant Charlton found it in various localities in Upper Assam. Not till 1855 was the plant discovered in Cachar by a native, now a blind old man, depending mainly for subsistence on the bounty he receives from the Cachar tea-planters. No practical result of any importance appears to have arisen from this discovery till the 24th January 1834, when Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India, wrote a minute on the advantage India would derive from the cultivation of the tea plant. He proposed as the best immediate means of attaining this end, the appointment of a Committee for the consideration and carrying out of a plan for its proper cultivation. He alluded to a paper on the subject which, two years before this, Dr. N. Wallich, the well known botanist, had forwarded to the President of the Board of Control. The result of Dr. Wallich's enquiries was, that, while the introduction of the plant itself into other countries appeared comparatively easy, failure inevitably attended the manufacture. This proved the case in Penang, Java, Ceylon, and Rio Janeiro. Dr. Wallich was however sanguine that there were various localities in India suitable to tea, instancing Kumaon, Gurwal, and Sirmore as places where the cultivation was then actually carried on, and he was so confident of success that he concludes his paper by declaring his hope 'that under a well directed management the tea plant may 'at no distant period be made an object of extensive cultivation 'in the Honourable East India Company's dominion, and that we 'shall not long continue dependent on the will and caprice of a 'despotic nation for the supply of one of the greatest comforts 'and luxuries of civilized life.'

Lord William Bentinck, mindful of Dr. Wallich's opinion, suggested that the desired object, not only of cultivating the shrub, but of obviating disappointment in the manufacture of the tea, would probably be best and soonest attained by the importation of Chinese cultivators and manufacturers, and proposed the mission of Mr. Gordon to China for that purpose. Lord William appears to have lost no time in carrying his views into practice. His minute, dated 24th January 1834, was followed by the appointment a week after of a Committee for the consideration of the subject. The Committee consisted of the following gentlemen:—Messrs. James Pattle, J. W. Grant, R. D. Mangles, J. R. Colvin, C. E. Trevelyan, C. K. Robison, R. Wilkinson, R. D. C.

houn, N. Wallich, C. J. Gordon, and Rajah Radakant Deb. This Committee commenced proceedings by addressing a Circular for information as to soil, climate, &c. to various gentlemen supposed likely to possess knowledge on the subject, and, adopting the Governor-General's recommendation, they sent Mr. Gordon at once to China to procure Chinese plants and seeds, and to import skilled labour. Shortly after this, Mr. Gordon was recalled, owing to the opinion of Capt. Jenkins, the Agent to the Governor-General on the North-East Frontier, that Chinese cultivators and tea makers could be procured from the Chinese province of Yunnan, distant about a month's journey from the locality in Upper Assam, where the tea tree was discovered. Mr. Gordon had however already sent round a supply of seed which Dr. Wallich, Secretary to the Tea Committee, proposed should be divided between Kumaon, Sirmore, and Upper Assam. Lord William Bentinck again displayed his anxiety to see the tea plants fairly tried throughout India, by ordering part to be forwarded to Madras, for distribution to the officials in Mysore, the Neilgherry hills, and elsewhere. No time appears to have been lost in following up the discovery of tea in Upper Assam. In February 1835, the necessary funds were sanctioned for the formation and maintenance of nurseries at Suddya and other places, where the shrub was plentiful, and Mr. Bruce was appointed to take charge of them. In September 1835, Mr. Gordon was sent back to China to complete arrangements for the importation of Chinese cultivators and manufacturers. During 1835, Lieutenant Charlton despatched several samples of black tea, which, in spite of being made from the wild tree, of inexperienced manipulation, and of injury by wet in transit, were pronounced to be equal to the ordinary black Congou used by the lower orders at home. Shortly afterwards Government experimental gardens were opened at in the North-Western Provinces, and latterly in the Punjab. To Dr. Jamieson's perseverance and well-directed energy we are mainly indebted for the success which attended the cultivation of tea in the North-West Provinces. He for many years superintended the Government experimental tea gardens and to this day his 'Guide to Tea Planters,' dated the 21th March 1857 is, we believe, the most practical treatise existing on the culture and manufacture of tea in India. At last in 1864, the cultivation and manufacture of tea being no longer a doubtful experiment, the Indian Government is properly withdrawing from the field by the disposal at reasonable rates of all its gardens. To the Government of the East India Company under Lord William Bentinck, then, must be awarded the credit of *having first discerned the future value of the Indian*



tea trade, and of having encouraged and fostered the cultivation. The first non-official pioneers of tea cultivation on an extensive scale were the Assam Company, who commenced operations in the year 1839 by taking over the Government gardens in that province. It cannot we fear be said that, with Lord William Bentinck's gardens, his mantle fell on the shoulders of the Assam Company. A narrower spirit is supposed to have animated them, and many anecdotes are related of their selfish determination to keep tea cultivation in Assam to themselves, destruction of their seed for instance rather than its sale to brother interlopers, &c. &c. This Company were among the first to take up lands in Cachar, but their disinclination probably to rub shoulders on equal terms with rivals led them to dispose of their Cachar property. After making some of the best gardens in the district, planted with their most valuable variety of seed, the indigenous, they sold them at a handsome profit, and these now form the increasingly valuable property of the Central Cachar Tea Company. After many vicissitudes the Assam is now the largest and most important India Tea Company. Under the management of an energetic Scotchman, the produce of its gardens ranks first in the London market, and its shares command both here and in London a premium of upwards of 150 per cent. In due time other tea estates grew up in Assam. Among them the gardens now composing the Jorehaut, the Upper Assam, and the Golah Ghat Companies, and many others, now take a high rank.

The growth of Indian tea however is not confined to Assam and Cachar. Darjeeling, the Deyra Dhoon, various other localities in the North-West, and the Punjab, on this side of India, all send down both green and black tea of good quality. Comparatively little tea is cultivated in the Neilgherries, but a large cultivation is opening out in Chittagong, where tracts of tea land have been taken up, and are fast coming under cultivation. It is not easy to estimate the amount of capital now invested in tea. A carefully compiled share list issued by Mr. A. G. Roussac gives £3,605,750 as the amount of capital, paid up or pledged, of the various Companies in the Calcutta market, but this does not include private gardens. Regarding the expenditure in Cachar alone, Captain Stewart, the Superintendent of the Province, writing on the 7th May 1864, states 'that up to the end of last year the capital expended on tea cultivation was twenty lacs of rupees, £200,000. 'During the year under review,' (these are probably the official year closing 30th April) '16,89,903 rupees have been drawn from my Treasury for the same purpose, making a total, say of thirty-seven lacs, £370,000, on which a return of upwards of seven and a half lacs (£75,000) have been obtained this year.'

Of the culture of the plant we have of course a great deal to learn. The Reports and Records of the Assam Company for the past twenty-five years must contain a mass of useful information, but that Company is unfortunately chary of giving its dearly bought experience to outsiders. We at all events have been unable to obtain a sight of what we doubt not would have proved to us a mine of wealth. We give with diffidence a few remarks on the culture and manufacture, but have no doubt that the prize essays shortly, we hope, to be published by the Agri-Horticultural Society, will form a useful compendium on the subject. The climate best suited to the growth of the tea plant must be moist and without long periods of drought; the soil a rich strong loam with a good mixture of sand. The following are the constituent parts of soils taken from tea gardens in China some thirty years ago for the information of Lord William Bentinck's Tea Committee:—

Silex.....	67½	71	68	80	83	76
Alumine.....	18	12	20	6	8	14
Oxide of Iron.....	6½	7	5	6	4	4
Carb. Magnes.....	3	1	½	0	0	0
— Lime.....	2	2	½	2	1	2
Muriate of Soda.....	0	1	1	0	0	0
Alkaline Salt .....	0	0	0	1	1	1
Water of absorption.....	2	3	2	5	3	3
Roots and fibres of plants	1	0	0	0	0	0
	100	97	97	100	100	100

The late Mr. Piddington presented to the Agricultural and Horticultural Society some specimens of soil taken from tea gardens in China and Assam, of which the following are analyses. They are it will be seen very similar:—

Tea Soil of Assam.			Tea Soil of China.		
Water ...	2.45	...	...	...	3.00
Vegetable matter ...	1.00	...	...	...	1.00
Carbonate of Iron ...	7.40	...	...	...	9.90
Alumina ...	3.50	...	...	...	9.10
Silex ...	85.40	...	...	...	76.00
Traces of phosphate and sulphate of lime and loss ...	.25	...	...	...	1.00
	100.00	...	...	...	100.00

The soils of the tea districts in Assam, Sylhet, Cachar, Darjeeling, the Kangra valley in the Punjab, &c. are very like those of China, and it appears that the tea tracts of India



are within the same degrees of latitude, the twenty-fifth and thirty-third, as those of China.

The plant is supposed to flourish best at an elevation of from 2 to 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, the produce being as a rule we believe larger at the lower, but the flavour of the tea superior at the higher elevation. The plant delights most in sloping lands, though flat land well drained will give a fine crop. An Eastern aspect is preferable. The seed used in India is of three kinds; the China, the hybrid, and the indigenous. The plant from the China is short, bushy, and hardy, the leaf very dark and comparatively hard. The hybrid is a cross between the China and indigenous, partaking of the qualities of both. The indigenous is the seed found originally in the wilds and forests of Assam, Cachar, and Munnipoor. It is from a forest tree, specimens of which have been seen twenty-five to thirty feet high, with the trunk three feet in circumference. The leaf is longer, of lighter colour, and more tender than that of the China or hybrid varieties. The plant from indigenous seed is more difficult to rear for the first two years, but after that time it is probably as hardy as the other two. The yield of leaf is doubtless larger than that from the China or hybrid, but it bears less seed. The yield of seed is becoming enormous, far greater than will be required for extensions. The surplus will probably ere long be made into oil which may become an important article of export; it has long been used in China for domestic and medicinal purposes.

In laying out a tea factory, as naturally healthy a locality as possible should of course be chosen. It should moreover be about the centre of the lands to be brought under cultivation. The buildings required are a dwelling house, houses for the native servants, coolies' lines, hospital, school house for the children, tea-making house, tea sorting and packing house, store godown, and sheds for workmen; also a bazar or haat for the purchase and sale of the necessaries of life for the servants and coolies. The 'twas,' low swamps between the hills overgrown generally by a long rank reed, should be at once cleared, and the coolies encouraged to sow paddy in them. The successful working of a tea garden depends mainly on the comfort and contentment of the coolies, especially in the district of Cachar, where the greatest difficulty is experienced in procuring labour. The employer is bound alike by humanity and self-interest to exercise an intelligent and kind supervision over his labourers. A most important point then is the erection of the coolie lines, the site of which should be chosen with reference to the generally prevailing wind, the nature of the soil for drainage, and the supply of water. A little care and extra expense in laying out coolie lines is well

repaid by the health and contentment of the people. In building houses, it must be remembered that a double row of dwellings under one roof is injurious, as the dwellers in one would be exposed to the impure air from the other side. Families should if possible have separate houses. Single men may be located in rows. The floor should be well elevated, and the ground round be well drained; the floor might be raised on bamboo *machans* after the manner adopted by the Kookies, leaving a clear space underneath. The most economical and at the same time lasting plan of building a coolie line is probably the erection of three rows of *pucka* pillars, the centre being two feet higher than the outside rows; a tiled roof, and walls made with split bamboo. This description of wall is of course very cheap, the material being at hand, and is also preferable in a sanitary point of view, as it affords ventilation, which should be still further secured by leaving a space of nine inches to a foot between the top of the wall and the roof, the lower part being plastered with mud to a height of about three feet for cold weather. The tiled roof is in the end cheaper than the thatched, and materially decreases risk from fire. If possible coolies' houses should be near a running stream. When this is not possible, it becomes necessary to choose spots suitable for sinking wells, the more insoluble the soil the better. A most important point, on sanitary grounds, is to have proper latrines for the lines. At a convenient distance and not in too low a situation, a trench should be dug; a few inches of earth daily thrown in will act as a disinfectant. An airy, well-drained spot should be chosen for a hospital. The hospital is of course necessary for isolated cases of sickness and for accidents, but should an epidemic break out, the whole colony of coolies should be shifted at once. It is better for them to live for a short time under such cover as a few mats will afford, than to remain where the epidemic broke out. The lines should undergo a thorough purification, the split bamboo walls being entirely removed for a few days, and the *pucka* pillars whitewashed. In case of smallpox or other markedly contagious disease, the walls should be burnt. The bungalow for the superintendent, and the houses for the native servants, should be erected with due consideration for the health of those who are to inhabit them, and for convenience in overlooking the work. The tea and sorting houses should be built on a dry spot, and it is a question whether tiles or galvanized iron sheets make the better roofing;—we would give the preference to the former. The tea house should be sufficiently lofty, to allow of an upper story; when the operations of a tea estate become extensive, it is advisable to have a separate factory for sorting and packing at, or as near as possible to, the place of



embarkation for Calcutta. Regularity, punctuality, and a judicious division of labour are necessary for the economical and satisfactory working of the garden. The work should be arranged over-night, with the head native, and next morning after muster the coolies should be told off to their different duties, the Superintendent taking his turn about an hour later to see that all is going on as ordered. A gong is most useful in a factory to ensure punctuality.

Forest soil is preferable for a tea garden to land once cleared and cultivated, owing to its comparative freedom from weeds. The heavy jungle is removed partly by manual labour, partly by fire. The roar of the flames darting up and claspings round the trees, the crack—crack, as knot after knot of the bamboo explodes, mingled with the voices of the coolies, contrast strangely with the stillness around, which has reigned perhaps for centuries undisturbed except by the tiger and deer who now bound away to seek homes further back in the jungle. The ground cleared and well hoed, the plants should be put in, in lines five to six feet by four. If planted closer their future growth is impeded, and the plucking of the leaf rendered difficult. It is generally allowed that sowing in nurseries and planting out the succeeding rains is a better plan than putting the seed out at once at stake, though the latter method has one great advantage in the present dearth of labour, that the work is performed at a comparatively idle time, whereas the transplanting from the nurseries goes on in the height of the manufacturing season. It has hitherto been the practice in Assam and Cachar to take special care not to injure the tap root of the young plant, when transplanting. We see however by the proceedings of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society held on the 23rd of last November that Mr. MacIvor of Ootacamund, a valuable authority on the subject, considers that for soils not affected by drought it is advantageous to cut off the tap root 'as it encourages the growth of the lateral roots, producing numerous fibres near the surface of the ground; the action of these fibres, or rather the spongelets at the end of them, being rapidly to absorb the nutriment from the point where it is most pure and abundant, and thus, after the fall of rain, by immediately introducing a large quantity of nutriment into the plant, causes it to throw out fresh and successive flushes of leaf.' We see it was suggested at the meeting, it seems to us with some reason, that possibly the removal of the tap root, though it might result in fuller flushes of leaf for the time being, would cause permanent injury to the shrub by shortening its life. Unless the tap root were needful for the plant, we suppose nature would not have

given it; but we commend the matter to the attention of tea planters. The great enemies of the young tea plant are white-ants and crickets. The soils most frequented by these creatures must be avoided, and which these are must be ascertained by observation. It is most advisable, as a preventive, to remove felled timber from the gardens as soon as possible, as the decaying wood is very favourable to the rapid production of the white-ants. Where crickets are numerous, there is nothing for it but to unearth them. The tea garden should be kept continually hoed and free from weeds. It is better to have a small compact area of land carefully tended, manuring after the third or fourth year, should the soil require it, than a large area, with a neglected cultivation. When first clearing, a moderate amount of shade should be left, which may be removed after the second year. In laying out the garden, roads about six feet wide should be carried round or over every teelah (hill). They aid supervision, prevent the encroachment of jungle, and materially assist in the plucking season. In manuring, it must of course be borne in mind, that the object is to supply those constituents of the soil, which the tea plant most largely absorbs. The constituent parts of the manufactured leaf are—

Water	...	...	...	...	5
Gum, Sugar, &c.,	...	...	...	...	21
Gluten	...	...	...	...	25
Theine	...	...	...	...	0½
Fat and Volatile Oil	...	...	...	...	4
Tannic Acid	...	...	...	...	15
Woody Fibre	...	...	...	...	24
Ash...	...	...	...	...	5½

100

When the tea is distilled with water, a small quantity of volatile oil passes over. When the powdered leaf is heated, a white vapour rises, which condenses in the form of minute colourless crystals. This substance is the theine, a most useful constituent of the leaf, and contains a very large percentage of nitrogen, a considerable quantity of which exists likewise in the gluten.\* The manure best suited to tea must therefore largely embrace nitrogen and considering the quantity of this gas contained in animal excretions, it is probable that night soil is the very best manure procurable for the tea shrub; an additional reason to the sanitary one elsewhere given for the proper arrangement of latrines. In China this is the principal manure used. It

\* Johnson,—Chemistry of Common Life.



must however be borne in mind that while a moderate quantity of manure scientifically applied, is no doubt beneficial, it requires some skill and prudence so to manure, as not to *force* the plant. Abundant flushes of leaf for one or two years, if succeeded by decay would be but a poor reward for attention to this branch of a tea planter's work. The plucking off the blossoms to check the production of seed, and increase that of leaf is another measure, which, to a certain extent no doubt beneficial, would we think if carried to excess be injurious to the health of the plant, because unnatural.

After the third year the plant is fairly productive, and to ensure a generous supply of leaf, it must be judiciously pruned every cold season. Even strong second year seedlings are the better for a light pruning. It is an error to suppose that when the plant attains the age of three years all risk is passed. It is probably subject in its mature age to many misfortunes, of which as yet little or nothing is known except to the Assam Company, and their records, alas! are a sealed book. We know however that blight often attacks the full grown shrubs, seriously injuring their productiveness. Hailstorms likewise which are prevalent in March and April often do irremediable damage. The white-ant is an enemy at all times. No doubt, when once reared to a productive age, tea is subject to fewer risks than many other plants, but it is by no means free from them. The shrub in a healthy, fully productive, well pruned state is about three and a half to four feet high, and should yield from 300 to 400 pounds of manufactured tea per acre; four pounds of fresh leaf yield one of manufactured tea. For how many years the tea plant is fully productive is not certainly known. This to investors in tea property is however a most important subject, and one on which we have unfortunately but little information. The indigenous tea plant in Assam, Cachar, and Munnipoor, it is declared by the natives, lives for 80 to 100 years. We trusted to have obtained some useful data from the statistics of the Assam Tea Company, some of whose gardens are more than twenty-five years old. It was not however judged expedient to give us access to their Reports and Records. It would have been useful to trace the yield of various gardens of this Company at various ages, and some idea might thus have been formed of the strength and productiveness of the tea shrub when undergoing annual plucking. The information we *have* obtained however is most important, as showing how exaggerated have been the ideas entertained, by many, of the produce of old gardens. We understand that in season 1862-63 the two oldest divisions, Rookang and Nazareh of the Assam Company yielded respectively only 266

and 225 pounds of tea per acre! These figures are from statements lately sent down from the gardens and may be relied on. We are told that last year the manager of the gardens ordered 200 acres of old plants to be cut down almost level with the ground, and with the best effect. The old stumps have branched out luxuriantly, and will next year it is expected yield abundantly. We believe that, next to the Assam Company, the oldest gardens of any extent in Assam are those of the Jorehaut Company. From information kindly placed at our disposal, we see that in 1863 920 acres of plant from three to ten years of age yielded 320,000 pounds of tea, showing an average outturn of about 350 pounds per acre; some of the older acreage without doubt giving more than 500 pounds per acre. This would seem to be the most successful Indian Tea Company. In 1863 its total outlay was about £14,000, its yield 4,000 maunds of tea which fetched in London an average price of 2s. 3½d. per lb. and it gave to its shareholders after deducting all expenses a dividend of twenty-four per cent. on its capital.

In Cachar the gardens are not sufficiently old to supply data on which to decide up to what age the tea shrub will yield fully, and after which it should be cut down or removed. The gardens of the Bengal Tea Company, which commenced operations in 1859, have this year turned out 100,000 pounds. The oldest patch of cultivation, about fifty acres, has yielded at the rate of 500 pounds per acre. The ratio of increase of outturn has been as follows, *viz.* 1861, 7,500 lbs. 1862, 17,000; 1863, 50,000; and 1864, 100,000 lbs. The largest outturn we have heard of from Cachar has been from the Serispor garden of the Central Cachar Tea Company. This garden, from 160 acres of five years old, and 230 acres of three years old plant, has this year made 1,100 maunds, or 88,000 lbs. of tea. This shows a yield of say 100 pounds per acre from three years, and 400 from five years plants; the plants of this garden are all from indigenous seed. The oldest garden of this Company having suffered severely from hail at the commencement of the season, on the other hand, has only made 925 maunds, or 74,000 pounds from 170 acres six years, 130 acres five years, and 100 acres four years old plants. Dr. Jamieson considers 300 pounds a fair outturn per acre from a fully bearing garden. In China we believe the tea shrub is expected to yield fully till the tenth or twelfth year when it is we presume changed or cut down. The safest mode is no doubt to have new cultivation continually coming into bearing to take the place of the worn out plants.

The plant in the bearing season delights in alternate heavy showers and sunshine. When the 'flushes' come out the leaves



should be gathered with as little delay as possible. The different qualities of tea are made from the leaves of different age. The small opening bud gives the flowery pekoe; from the leaf just forming is made the pekoe; when a little more developed we get the souchong; and from the leaf in full size the congou. In Chinese, pekoe or poco signifies, *white hair*, the down of tender leaves, souchong, *small plant*, and congou is from a term signifying *labour*, possibly from the greater amount of out-door labour required to gather the larger quantity of the congou leaf. The manufacturing house should be in a central part of the garden, to ensure the arrival of the leaf fresh, and to enable the pluckers to gather the largest possible quantity. In a moderately sized garden bearing well, it may be advisable to have an auxiliary tea house, near one boundary of the garden. The manufacture of tea is simple. The leaf is plucked, the day before it is to be manufactured, and thinly laid on *machans* (bamboo frame work) during the night. Shortly after sun-rise the next morning the leaves are placed in the open air in trays, to be withered sufficiently for manipulation, say for from one to three hours. Indigenous being a softer leaf will take less time than China. The leaves when ready for the process are thrown into a basin-shaped iron pan, about three feet in diameter, and nine inches deep. The pan is fixed in a sloping direction over a furnace, the leaves being kept constantly in motion with the hand. They are then transferred to a table covered with fine matting, and there rolled with the hand. The last process is the firing or drying of the tea, which is done by placing it in shallow baskets over a clear charcoal fire, and this is done more than once. The different qualities are sorted by sifting through sieves of different texture. Care in packing is very necessary. The boxes are lined with lead; and the Chinese cover them with oiled paper, which helps materially to exclude damp; and this plan may wisely be adopted in Indian gardens. During the next few years, there will no doubt be great improvements in the manufacture of tea, the scarcity of labour giving a great impetus to the invention of machinery for the various processes. Large prizes have been offered for mechanical contrivances, especially for rolling and sifting. The tea after a last firing is packed and shipped for Calcutta. The chests should not be opened during the rains, but must be either kept in Calcutta in upper roomed godowns till the cold weather, or at once shipped to England. If opened during the wet season, the tea is apt to become musty or sour and lose flavour, entailing disappointment and loss on the Calcutta purchasers for the home market. Tea, moreover, is the better for being kept some little time. The deleterious property

it possesses when fresh, derived from the volatile oil, thus becomes greatly modified.

We come now to the important subject of outlay on and return from a tea garden. So much depends on individual management that it is difficult to give reliable information on this subject. The following may be a rough approximation for a garden of 300 acres, where assistance from local labour is obtainable:—

Cost of land, 300 acres @ Rs. 5 per acre ...	Rs. 1,500	
Clearing, burning jungle, and first hoeing @		
Rs. 12 per acre ... ..	3,600	
Second hoeing, staking, and transplanting @ Rs. 5		
per acre ... ..	1,500	
Further cultivation during the year @ Rs. 7-8 per		
acre... ..	2,250	
Seed 1 maund for 5 acres, 60 maunds @ Rs. 100 per		
maund. ... ..	6,000	
European management @ Rs. 300... ..	3,600	
Native Establishment @ Rs. 100 ... ..	1,200	
Buildings ... ..	1,000	
Horse charges ... ..	600	
General charges ... ..	600	
Implements, &c. ... ..	400	
Cost of importing two hundred labourers @ 50		
Rs. per man ... ..	10,000	
Expenditure 1st year ... ..	32,250	
Second year's cultivation ... ..	5,000	
Establishment ... ..	4,800	
Buildings ... ..	1,000	
Horse and General charges, &c. ... ..	1,200	12,000
Third year. Rs. 12,000 and charges for manufac-		
turing 18,000 pounds of tea (300 acres @ 60lbs.)		
say ... ..	4,000	16,000
		60,250

To the end of the third year say with interest on outlay, Rs. 70,000, less the proceeds of 18,000 pounds of tea, which at twelve annas per lb will be Rs. 13,500, leaving the block standing at 56,500 rupees. The fourth year the outturn at 150 pounds per acre would be 45,000 pounds at an outlay say of Rs. 12,000, with Rs. 2,000 for additional buildings and other expenses, besides cost of manufacture of tea say Rs. 15,000, making a total outlay of Rs. 19,000. The return at twelve annas per pound would be Rs. 33,750, leaving a profit of Rs. 4,750, or about eight



per cent. on the capital. The fifth year, reckoning outturn at 240 pounds per acre, we should have 72,000 pounds of tea at an expense of about Rs. 35,000, leaving say Rs. 19,000 profit, or about thirty-four per cent. on capital. In the sixth year at 300 pounds, 90,000 pounds for about Rs. 45,000, leaving about forty per cent. on capital. We do not reckon return from seed, which is exceptional and any profit from which should be given rather as a bonus than a dividend. In the above sketch we have supposed a garden of 300 acres to be cleared and planted the first year. It is seldom however that this is done. Whether the undertaking be that of a private individual or of a Joint Stock Company the clearings are gradual. It therefore happens that part of a garden is more or less bearing, while the rest is not yielding any return. It becomes then a question how fairly to apportion the money spent between capital and revenue. Of course till there is some yield, the whole outlay must be borne by capital. The difficulty commences when the garden becomes divided into bearing and non-bearing acreage. This subject is one of the utmost importance to shareholders in Tea Companies. The financial working of a Railway and of a Tea Company are somewhat analogous in this respect. It is said that the system of the Railway King Hudson was to fix the amount of dividend, and to order the accountant to divide the outlay between capital and revenue so as to show the required profit! evidently an unsafe system either for Railway or Tea speculation. This division of outlay has become a momentous question in regard to our Indian Railways; but there is this difference between the Indian Railways and the Tea Companies, that the dividends of the former are guaranteed by the British Government, not so the latter. Until the capital account is closed, that is, until extensions are stopped, and the whole of the acreage is fully bearing, a division of charges must take place. The principle is obviously just, but prudence is necessary in adjusting the two accounts. Mr. Howard H. Ashworth, an accountant of good repute, and who, when in India last year, was professionally connected with some of the leading Tea Companies in Calcutta, has paid some attention to the subject, and reduced his views to writing. He says that 'the money subscribed by shareholders, and called the capital of the Company, is meant to be used in laying out the gardens and keeping them in order until they are five years old, and consequently in full bearing: after which period, the cost of keeping them in order, manufacturing the tea, &c. &c. must be deducted from the proceeds of the sale of the tea, and the balance only of the proceeds, divided among the shareholders as dividend, or interest on the capital subscribed by the shareholders.

‘ So far appears quite clear, but we know that a certain amount of leaf may be plucked from trees after they have attained an age of three years, and as the amount realized by the sale of this produce when manufactured, is not used on the gardens in improving the cultivation, but is given to the shareholders as revenue, in return for their outlay, it is obvious that the revenue accounts should be charged with a portion of the amount that has been expended on the young gardens, during the one season the leaf to be plucked has been maturing, and the sum so charged against revenue, should bear the same proportion to the total expenditure in attending to the garden, as the proceeds of the young trees bear to the proceeds of those of mature growth.

‘ If therefore we go by general experience, which shows that a plantation in its third year yields half a maund (40 lbs.) of tea per acre, in its fourth year a maund and a half (120 lbs.) per acre, in its fifth year three maunds (240 lbs.) per acre, and in its sixth and subsequent years five maunds (400 lbs.) per acre, we come to the conclusion :—

‘ 1st.—That for the third year’s expenditure on a plantation, one-tenth part should be charged against revenue, and the remaining nine-tenths against capital.

‘ 2nd.—That for the fourth year’s expenditure on a plantation, three-tenths should be charged against revenue, and seven-tenths against capital.

‘ 3rd.—That for the fifth year’s expenditure on a plantation, three-fifths should be charged against revenue, and the remaining two-fifths against capital.

‘ 4th.—After the fifth year, the whole charge should be borne by revenue.’

Mr. Ashworth’s calculation of the crop at the several ages of the plant up to the fifth year we think somewhat underrated; but that for the sixth, or full bearing year, is we fear, too large. The yield in the fifth year is reckoned at 240 lbs.; that of the sixth at 400 lbs. It will be observed that the whole calculation as to division of outlay, is based on this last return, that of the sixth year, of 400 lbs. per acre.

In the fifth year, following Mr. Ashworth’s calculations, a garden will yield 240 lbs. per acre, with a charge against revenue of only three-fifths of the outlay. In the sixth year, should the average outturn be only 300 lbs. (and this would be very good for a large acreage), shareholders will be surprised to find their outturn of tea comparatively little in excess of that of the previous season, but burdened with the whole outlay; the pocket result being a very much smaller instead of larger dividend than that of the



previous year. Either 400lbs. is an excessive average for the sixth year; or the probable yields of the third and fourth years are under-estimated. We think both to be the case. Four hundred pounds may be, and no doubt is, the full yield per acre under *favourable circumstances*; but allowance must be made for blight, hail, white-ants, want of labour, drought, *et multa alia*. We would somewhat raise the rate, say to 60 and 150 for the third and fourth years, and reduce it to say 300 for the sixth. The charge of revenue for the third year would then be as 60 is to 300 instead of as 40 to 400; for the fourth year, as 150 to 300 instead of 120 to 400; and for the fifth year as 240 to 300 instead of 240 to 400.

In thus criticising Mr. Ashworth's calculations, we do not cast any blame on him. He was not a practical tea planter, and no doubt was guided by the information he derived from others. The subject, however, is one of considerable importance, and one to which it may be well to draw the attention of those interested, as the stability of their property depends much on the basis on which the Capital and Revenue Accounts are adjusted.

Though the trade is in its infancy it is satisfactory to know that the India tea already takes precedence, in the London market, of that from China, its price averaging 3*d.* to 4*d.* a pound above the latter. The consumption of tea is rapidly increasing in India itself, and whatever is made in the North-West and in the Punjab, will doubtless find a ready sale on the spot. This refreshing beverage is yearly becoming more popular on the Continent; in France and Germany its consumption was, till lately, very small. In 1851 with populations respectively of thirty-six and thirty-two millions, these countries used only half and one and a half millions of pounds, while Great Britain consumed nearly fifty-five millions. Coffee was and is still the popular beverage on the continent. The annual exports of tea from China from 1772 to 1780 averaged 18,838,000 pounds. It now exports upwards of lbs. 150,000,000. By the reduction of the duties existing prior to 1784 the consumption of tea in Great Britain was trebled in two years; in 1783 the quantity sold at the East India Company's sales having been 5,157,000 lbs. and in 1785, 16,307,433 lbs. In 1833 Great Britain consumed 31,803,000 lbs.; in 1835 about 36,000,000 lbs.; in 1852 about 55,000,000 lbs.; in 1853 about 58,000,000 lbs.; within the last twenty-three years the consumption has much more than doubled, and now that the duty has been and will probably be still further reduced, the rate of increase will no doubt be much larger, tea being one of those articles of food, which though not really a necessary of life, becomes

so by habit. It has indeed a greater nutritious property than is generally supposed, containing, as it does, so large a proportion of gluten. By the usual method of infusion, very little of this property is obtained, but were a pinch of soda put into the water, more of the gluten would be dissolved, and the tea be rendered more nutritious. In 1841 the consumption was 31,788,322 pounds, producing a revenue of £3,439,108. In 1863 it was 73,785,942 pounds, producing a revenue of £4,031,416; this shows in 1841, a consumption per head of 1.71 pounds, and revenue of 3s. 8½d.; and in 1863, a consumption per head of 3.12 pounds, and revenue 3s. 5d. The reduction per head of revenue is accounted for by Mr. Gladstone's reduction of the duty by one-third. There is however a gross increase of revenue of about £600,000, showing the wisdom of the measure. The comparatively high price of Indian tea is to be attributed to its strength making it useful for mixing with the weaker China teas, and this is due to its being carefully and honestly manufactured, altogether under European superintendence, whereas in many districts of China, tea has been very much what cotton has been in India, a refuse crop, and the manufacture conducted entirely by Asiatics. The exports of tea from Calcutta since January 1862 have been as under :—

1862	19,56,765	Pounds.
1863	80,58,298	do.
1864 } Nov. }	28,01,389	do.

The following statements will show the position of tea cultivation in Bengal taken from the latest available official statistics :—



Statement showing the result of Tea Cultivation in Assam in 1863.

Names of Districts.	Number of factories in 1862.		Number of factories in 1863.		Increase.	Extent of land under tea cul- tivation in 1862.		Extent of land under tea cul- tivation in 1863.		Increase.	Outturn of 1862 in lbs.		Outturn of 1863 in lbs.		Increase.	Estimated outturn for 1864.
	251	320	69	20,336		Acres.	27,690	Acres.	7,874		2,930	468,911	515,420	46,509		
Luckimpoor	...	...	5	4,974	7,874	2,930	468,911	515,420	46,509	608,438						
Sebsaugor	...	...	5	10,406½	12,370	1,963½	1,383,265	1,608,377	225,112	1,833,489						
Nowgong	...	...	20	2,462	4,023	1,561	152,525	192,402	39,877	272,156						
Durrung	...	...	10	1,369	1,722	353	100,000	111,110	11,110	133,330						
Kamroop	...	...	16	1,027	1,553	526	40,794	42,075	1,281	46,637						
Gowalparah	...	...	13	97½	148	50½	.....	582	582	1,164						
Total	...	...	69	20,336	27,690	7,334	2,145,495	2,469,966	324,471	2,895,214						

*Cultivation in Cachar.*

Area of grants ...	...	253,372	acres.
Extent of cultivation up to May 1863	...	15,530½	"
Ditto ... 1864	...	28,276	"
Tea produced in 1863	...	590,064	lbs.
Estimated crop in 1864	...	1,197,540	"
Tea seed produced in 1863	...	1,631	maunds.
Estimated quantity in 1864	...	3,843	"

*Number of labourers employed.*

Local ...	...	...	4,418
Imported ...	...	...	14,435
			<hr/> 18,853

*Cultivation in Sylhet.*

Extent of cultivation in 1862	...	1,370	acres.
Ditto in 1863	...	2,321	"
Outturn of tea in 1862	...	22,026	lbs.
Ditto in 1863	...	31,168	"
Estimated outturn in 1864	...	81,200	"
Tea seed produced in 1862	...	371	maunds
Ditto in 1863	...	526	"
Estimated yield of tea seed in 1864	...	1,226	"

*Number of labourers employed in 1863.*

Local ...	...	...	1,053
Imported ...	...	...	467
			<hr/> 1,520

distinctions of castes are inadmissible according to them. Men of all castes were admitted in his ranks. Men of all castes.

*Cultivation in Darjeeling.*

Amount of land cleared	...	10,963	acres.
Amount of land planted	...	9,034	"
Amount of land cleared and planted in 1863	...	3,310	"
Yield of tea in 1862	... (Tea leaf?)	83459	lbs.
Manufactured tea	...	21519	"
Yield of tea in 1863	...	126,439	"
Manufactured tea	...	36,808	"
Anticipated amount of cleared and planted land in 1864	...	4,337	acres.
Probable yield of tea in 1864	...	169,740	lbs.
Ditto tea seed	...	71,914	"
Number of coolies employed	...	6,098	"

The present position of the district of Cachar compared to what it was ten years ago is perhaps the most striking illustra-



tion of commercial enterprise that British India can show. Not ten years since, the European inhabitants were the Superintendent, his Assistant, and the Doctor. The district excepting villages near the station, in the Hylalandy valley, and one or two other favoured localities and on the banks of the Barak river, was a dense jungle inhabited only by elephants, tigers, deer, and other wild animals. It now contains upwards of 300 tea planters, 253,372 acres of waste land have been disposed of, of which 28,276 acres are under tea. The quantity of tea made in season 1863 was 590,064 pounds, the quantity expected in 1864 is 1,197,540, showing an increase of more than double over last year; 3,843 maunds of tea seed are expected this year against 1,631 maunds in 1863. 18,853 labourers are at present employed in the gardens, 14,435 being imported, and 4,418 local. If Cachar continues to progress at this rate, it will soon throw all other districts into the shade.

We come now to what is practically at the present moment the most important subject connected with the Indian tea trade, the supply of labour and its retention when obtained. India, as is well known, contains large tracts of cultivable waste land either altogether uninhabited or with a very scanty population. Such are the provinces of Assam and Cachar. Other parts of the empire, again, are more densely populated. We have shown at the commencement of this article how deeply Lord William Bentinck was interested in the discovery of tea in India, and how the Indian Government has subsequently encouraged the cultivation, by itself establishing experimental tea gardens. The requirements of the cultivation have been therefore all along well known to Government, and when it invited the investment of British capital in the wilds of the tea districts, it was taken for granted that facilities would be given for the introduction of the necessary labour. After extensive grants of land had been taken up for the cultivation of tea, the assistance of Government to this end was consequently sought. In connection with this subject Sir John Peter Grant, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, wrote on the 20th January 1860:—‘It is manifest that  
 ‘the great want is a sufficiency of labour for the proper cultivation of land already obtained for and in part planted with tea,  
 ‘and for the proper gathering and manufacture of the leaves.  
 ‘This is work in which the men, women, and grown children of  
 ‘a whole family can be employed: and it is therefore most  
 ‘favourable for the importation of labour at a moderate charge,  
 ‘and the fixing of a new labouring population in the neighbourhood of the tea plantations.’ This admission which implies something more than the introduction of a population by the

planters who would fix them *on*, and not *in the neighbourhood* of the plantations, was to be expected from the head of a Government that had all the experience to be derived from the working of the Government tea gardens. He proceeds to say that 'the generally scanty population of Assam, its remote position, and its difficulty of access for poor people from the populous parts of India, indicate the expediency of having resort to a systematic course of proceeding in the importation of labour from other parts of India.' A clear recognition, it would appear, of the duty of Government to assist in the work, but unfortunately he goes on, 'but it is not for Government, but for those immediately interested in the tea plantations of Assam to apply themselves to this as to other requirements of their position.' How such a conclusion was arrived at, it is difficult to understand. The duties of Governments in this matter vary of course according to the circumstances of the countries they govern. The obligation of a European Government to assist emigration to underpeopled colonies is universally recognised. In Europe the surplus population of one district may readily find its way to less fortunate localities. Facilities of locomotion and of organization exist, which make it, unless under exceptional circumstances, unnecessary for the Government to interfere. In India it is very different. Unaided private enterprise is powerless to transfer the surplus population from one province to another. There are various difficulties that make it impossible for large bodies of people to be shifted from one part of the country to another by private agency alone, without serious loss and discomfort to the emigrants. The general principle that it is to the interest of the Government of a country that its waste tracts should be peopled, will however not be disputed. The *when* and the *how* are no doubt to be considered. Where, as in this case, capital and skilled agency to work that capital are forthcoming, it would appear that the *when* had arrived: a paternal despotism need not be at loss for the *how*. We complain however not only that facilities are not granted for the importation of labour into the tea districts, but that labour is actually sent out of the country. It will surely be allowed that surplus labour should not be exported beyond sea, when it is required in the country itself. But in India the anomaly exists of a most valuable trade, that in the course of a few years would yield upwards of a million sterling of revenue to the British Government, languishing for labour, while the Government not only repudiates the duty of directly importing it, but permits its export to foreign dependencies. So suicidal a course of action may well appear incredible, and it is only we presume to be explained on the



supposition that foreign emigration was permitted before the want of labour in India itself was so patent.

During the past six years, as will be seen by the annexed table taken from the Annual Report of the Administration of the Bengal Presidency for 1863-64, 1,01,131 labourers were exported beyond sea, of whom only 16,700 have returned. We will not say that this fact is 'appalling,' but if it is true that the climate of the islands to which these people go, does not suit Asiatics, and that the mortality among them is very great, it might be worth while to obtain statistical information as to the position of our Indian subjects in these colonies.

				Departure.	Return.
1858-59	...	...	...	26,672	5,626
1859-60	...	...	...	23,312	3,226
1860-61	...	...	...	14,533	1,778
1861-62	...	...	...	22,600	1,710
1862-63	...	...	...	7,825	2,212
1863-64	...	...	...	6,189	2,148
1858-59 to 1863-64 ... ..				1,01,131	16,700

'It is not for Government, but for those immediately interested in the tea plantations of Assam, to apply themselves to this, (the importation of labour), as to other requirements of their position.' We contend that it is both the interest and the duty of the Government directly to assist in the importation of labour, where it has successfully invited the investment of capital, and especially where that capital is importing skilled and intelligent agency to direct labour. We say moreover that it is more to the interest of the Government than of the individual tea planter that this should be done. The proprietor of a tea garden looks to his immediate profit; the Government to the prospective wealth and happiness of the community. We do not say that the capitalist should buy lands and then fold his hands till the Government brings labour to his door to cultivate them: but on the other hand the Government should not sit idle and see the capitalist vainly striving to do alone what cannot be done without its help. We say advisedly that it *cannot* be done. It will not do for the Government to say, 'the profit of tea cultivation is such as richly to repay an adequate expenditure in in-

'creasing it.' It is possible that the profit might be so large as to repay the cost of transporting labour, only twenty-five per cent. of which might arrive to work, the remainder having succumbed, died from disease and starvation incurred in transit, because capital in a country like India cannot command that organization which is absolutely necessary safely to transport a population from one province to another.

When the waste tracts of Assam and Cachar were extensively taken up, and Europeans entered heartily into the cultivation of tea, it was plain that by some means or other labour must be obtained. Coolie contractors sprung up; and surplus labour from the Sonthal Pergunnahs, Rajmahal Hills, Central Provinces, and elsewhere was rapidly collected and brought down to Calcutta, for exportation to Assam and Cachar. It soon became evident that abuses were likely to spring up in the collection of these coolies. Imperfect arrangements for their transmission to Calcutta would entail distress; and their dispatch, in large bodies, to the gardens without due sanitary arrangements and precautions, might be attended with great discomfort, and even loss of life. The large bounty offered might tempt unprincipled recruiters to kidnap coolies; and, too often, to induce them, under false pretences of high pay and wonderful advantages to leave their homes. In fact, all the difficulties incidental to imperfect organization presented themselves. The business of recruiting coolies fell into the hands of men who were interested solely in the profit to be made out of the capitalists' urgent need of labour, and both labourers and employers were at the mercy of contractors. How such agency worked, is ably portrayed by Captain Lees in the useful work which we have placed at the head of this article. At page 337 he says, 'coolies were contracted for, by private parties, as so many sheep or bullocks, the contractors receiving a certain sum for those who arrived in the district and for those who died *en route*, but none for deserters. To those who have been in India, and know what an Indian contractor is, an explanation of his *modus operandi* is unnecessary. They know that as a rule, he is unscrupulous, and that as long as he puts money in his purse, whether it be human beings or beasts of the field he has to deal with, the amount of dishonesty or cruelty he perpetrates, will not sit heavy on his conscience. Nor was it otherwise in this instance. False representation, corruption, oppression of every and the worst description, were used to swell the number of the contractor's recruits. The old and decrepid, the young and tender, the halt, the maimed, and the blind—may



'even the infected, the diseased, and the dying, were pressed 'into the service of these most degraded of crimps.'

It was high time for the Government to bestir itself. According to our view it had already incurred responsibility in not at first coming forward to assist the capitalist in the transport of labour, and in allowing matters to drift into such a sad state; especially when the necessity was so clearly seen of 'a systematic course of proceeding in the importation of labour from other parts of India; and the fixing of a new labouring population in the neighbourhood of the Tea Plantations.\*' Mr. Beadon at this time succeeded to the Government of Bengal. He determined that a better system should be introduced and a Bill, Act III. of 1863, was passed through the Bengal Council to regulate Inland Emigration.

It received the assent of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on the 10th March 1863, and of the Governor-General on the 28th of the same month. This Act provides that labourers, to be despatched to Assam, Cachar, or Sylhet, shall be collected only by contractors or recruiters, duly licensed by a Superintendent of Labour Transport; that such contractors shall establish depôts to receive the labourers before their despatch to their final destination; that the labourers shall be registered by the Magistrate of the district where they are recruited, who shall satisfy himself that they understand the nature of their agreements: that proper arrangements for food and lodging shall be made by the contractor; and that on arrival at the depôt, the coolies shall be examined by a Medical Inspector having the power to send back to his home, at the expense of the contractor, any coolie who may from bad health be unable to proceed to his destination. It is provided that the coolies enter into contracts to serve the party engaging them for a term not to exceed five years. This contract is executed in duplicate, a copy being forwarded to the Magistrate of the district, where the service is to be performed. Steamers or boats conveying coolies must be duly licensed to carry a limited number. On arrival at their destination, coolies are to be landed under the supervision of the Magistrate, who has power to arrange for their comfort while remaining in the place of disembarkation, at the expense of the employer. The Act provides for proper feeding and

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\* The then head of the Government of Bengal, is now a Director of the Land Mortgage Bank of India, which we understand has advanced considerable sums on the security of tea estates in the North-Eastern districts. The correct theoretical knowledge of the subject possessed by Sir J. P. Grant, may now be usefully applied.

medical care of coolies during the passage; and declares that, at least twenty-five per cent. of the number despatched shall be females. These various provisions in the interest of the coolies are, it must be admitted, just and proper. A consequence of the law, however, has been a very great increase in the cost of landing a coolie in Assam or Cachar. What two years ago cost twenty-five to thirty, now costs sixty to eighty rupees. The only clause apparently in the interest of the employer, is that which provides for a contract for a term not to exceed five years. This however is as much in favour of the coolie as it is in favour of the employer, for it would be hard indeed were the former, transported a month's journey from his home, liable to dismissal on arrival at his destination. For many months, in fact since the passing of the Act, the newspapers have teemed with complaints of the unsatisfactory nature of the relations between the tea planter and his imported labourer. The law perhaps has come in for more than its fair share of opprobrium. It is certain however that since it was passed, the cost of labour has enormously increased, and the worth of the article correspondingly decreased. We are sure that not a single employer would have objected to the most stringent provisions to ensure the comfort and proper treatment of the coolies; but the tea interest naturally complains, when it sees that the practical result of the Legislation so far as it is concerned has been an enormous increase in outlay; has led in fact to prohibitory rates for labour, with no corresponding advantage; while at the same time it is very doubtful whether the praiseworthy object of securing the comfort of the coolie has been attained. To support this view it is only necessary to allude to the trip of the *Agra* steamer and flat *Hooghly* to Assam at the end of 1863, nine months after the passing of the Act.\* In the interest of the coolies we would remark that the time between the despatch from Calcutta to the arrival in

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\* A Committee was appointed by the Government of Bengal to enquire into the cause of this mortality. In instructions to the Superintendent of Labour Transport, issued after receipt of the Committee's report, it is laid down that Government has no concern with the selection of robust labourers. This is surely a mistake. The establishment of a Government Agency for procuring coolies is deprecated. This is not exactly what is required. It is rather such Government countenance as will make a proper organization possible. The congregation of a large number of coolies is disapproved of, and justly so, but in the very next paragraph, the various depôts are ordered to be concentrated in a convenient situation which in or near Calcutta is, we fear impossible without incurring the very evil which is most to be avoided. The congregation of coolies in large numbers at all in Calcutta is most injurious. As to the additional rules regarding the coolies,



Assam or Cachar is that which seems most to deserve attention. The journey from their homes to Calcutta is mainly made by rail. The coolies all embark either in the steamers or boats at Kooshtea, which they reach by rail from Calcutta in five or seven hours, though they are frequently detained there a day or two or more. Attention to their proper housing and feeding at Kooshtea then is necessary, the more especially since it is during the steamer or boat trip from thence that the greatest sanitary precautions are needed.

The tea planter is as anxious as the Government can be that the imported labourer be properly cared for from the time he is engaged till his arrival at the gardens. Any legal enactment which will ensure the landing of robust, healthy men and women will be welcomed by the tea interest; and it justly complains that Legislation as yet has not secured this object. The question is, what can be done to remedy this state of things. Every reasonable precaution appears to be taken in Calcutta. A more efficient Superintendent of Labour Transport could not probably be obtained. The Medical Inspector is most skilful and able. But after all their precautions, a batch of coolies may arrive at Kooshtea, and be unavoidably delayed for a few days. If these men are insufficiently housed and fed, these few days, at any season of the year, may convert what was a healthy into a sickly body of men; predisposed to disease when confined on board a steamer or boat. It may be said that these people were not accustomed at their own homes to all the attention we demand for them. However this may have been, the fact of their having lived separately at their various homes, and now being massed together, makes all the difference. It is absolutely necessary also that the Medical Inspector at Kooshtea should be empowered to examine the steamers or boats, and to see that proper sanitary precautions be taken. This is more necessary for the steamer flats than for country boats, as the men in the former are generally confined from the moment of embarkation till arrival at their destination.

We believe that difficulty is experienced in procuring suitable

too much attention cannot be paid to their comfort, but it should be done without sacrificing the capitalist. It is ordered among the sanitary rules for treatment of coolies on board the steamers that the decks be washed daily. We feel sure that this is injudicious. The decks are always damp, if daily washed, and invite diarrhoea, dysentery, and in fact all diseases to which men in large bodies are particularly subject. The decks should be dry scrubbed. Daily bathing is ordered, but it is not easy to carry out such an order. A bathing arrangement might perhaps be erected; a long wooden trough for instance, with a perforated metal bottom, with a pump at one end communicating with the river.

medical officers to take charge of coolies on the passage. The conveyance of labourers to the tea districts is one of the most lucrative sources of profit to the steamers, and it might be ordered that every Company reeking such freight should be bound permanently to employ European medical officers to take charge of emigrants. Such officers should be well paid : partly by a fixed salary from the Steam Company, and partly by a fee for every coolie landed in good health. An intelligent medical man having this special duty would soon find out what regulations and sanitary arrangements were most conducive to the health and comfort of the coolies on board. It should be the duty of the Medical Inspector at Kooshtea to reject men and women unfit for labour. Even were this duty performed in Calcutta it would not be sufficient, it being quite possible for sickly or diseased coolies to be substituted for healthy ones after the Medical Inspector has passed them. At present we believe the medical officer of Kooshtea does duty as Medical Inspector of Coolies on a salary which implies that his duties are supposed to be nominal. About 1,200 coolies pass through Kooshtea every month, and their number is steadily increasing. The Medical Inspector's work should therefore be clearly defined, and fairly remunerated.

The present system it is plain does not work well. It costs sixty rupees to land a Dhangur coolie in Cachar, and eighty in Assam. Who gets this money? How is the sum of sixty Rupees made up? After liberal allowance for Railway and Steamer fares, *dépôt-charges*, food and lodging in transit, blankets, &c. a very large surplus remains. None of this goes to the coolie; the profit is the recruiter's and contractor's. Moreover, from the complaints made of the arrival in large numbers of coolies physically unfit for work, it would almost appear that the profit is so large that it is worth the while of the contractors to recruit incapable men; running the risk of their not being passed, or of death in transit. The cruelty of such an abuse is extreme, and the additional expense to the employer is great. There may be ample organization at Calcutta; but neglect at the source of supply entails extra work there, and want of proper regulations at the final place of embarkation goes far to neutralize what may have been effected at the centre. The present system leaves to the tea planter an apparent freedom of action, in the engagement of labourers, neutralized however by rules and penalties which have proved more or less useless for the purpose intended, adding only to the cost of labour. To judge by the continual complaints made by the planters, a bad class of men are imported, who refuse to fulfil their



contracts, and who seem to be at liberty so to refuse with impunity. At present the precautions ordered to be taken at the source of supply are nullified by the want of agency to work them. To suppose that the Magistrate of any district can efficiently perform the duties laid upon him by the Act is absurd. That the interests both of employers and labourers are insufficiently protected in transit will be admitted, that both have good cause to complain at the place of destination will be equally allowed. The Government Superintendent of Cachar at least declares that the coolies imported into his district are not contented; and the planters complain that after incurring the expense of importing them, find them unwilling to work. What is required appears to us to be security that suitable labourers will be recruited; that the nature of the engagement shall be properly explained to them: that they should not be massed in large numbers anywhere in transit to the final place of embarkation for their destination: that great care be exercised in conveying them safely to the tea districts from that place: and finally, that measures should be adopted to ensure their contentment and comfort on arrival at the gardens, and the honest fulfilment of their contracts.

Whatever system is adopted, the principle that it is the interest and the duty of the Government to assist in introducing an agricultural population into the tea districts, should be recognised. Part of the cost of the importation should fairly be borne by the Government to be defrayed from the money received by the sale of waste lands. Once more we must say, it is not enough for the Government to sell lands. Having realized funds by such sale, it is bound to assist in finding labour to cultivate them and to apply part at least of those funds to that purpose, and this, not to take higher ground, in the interest of its own revenue. Mr. Wakefield says, 'If the object were the utmost possible increase of the population, wealth, and greatness of our empire, then I can have no doubt that the revenue accruing from the sale of waste land would be called an emigration fund, and be expended in conveying poor people of the labouring class from the mother country to the colonies.' The principle is equally applicable to the transfer of population from one part of our Indian empire to another.

Six years hence, Assam, Cachar, and Sylhet, should, under favourable circumstances, produce upwards of twenty millions of pounds of tea. The duty alone on this, at one shilling a pound, would be a million sterling. The revenue from other sources would be large, and it would take more time and space than can afford, to show how shipping and other interests

benefit by the trade. The duty of a Government to assist in colonization is thus laid down by John Stuart Mill. 'The question of Government intervention in the work of colonization, involves the future and permanent interests of civilization itself, and far outstretches the comparatively narrow limits of purely economical considerations. But even with a view to these considerations alone, the removal of population from the overcrowded to the unoccupied parts of the earth's surface, is one of those works of eminent social usefulness, which must require, and at the same time best repay, the intervention of Government.'

Again, 'It is equally obvious however, that colonization on a great scale can be undertaken, as an affair of business, only by the Government, or by some combination of individuals in complete understanding with the Government.' Again, 'any considerable emigration of labour is only practicable, when its cost is defrayed, or at least advanced, by others than the labourers themselves. Who then is to advance it? Naturally, it may be said, the capitalists of the colony, who require the labour, and who intend to employ it. But to this there is the obstacle, that a capitalist, after going to the expense of carrying out labourers, has no security that he shall be the person to derive any benefit from them. If all the capitalists of the colony were to combine, and bear the expense by subscription, they would still have no security that the labourers, when there, would continue to work for them.' Regarding the expenditure necessary, he says 'of the modes in which a fund for the support of colonization can be raised in the colony, none is comparable in advantage to that which was first suggested, and has since been so ably and perseveringly advocated, by Mr. Wakefield: the plan of putting a price upon all unoccupied land, and devoting the proceeds to emigration.' In connection with the capital required to support the imported labour he says:—'It would be necessary, in order not to overstock the labour market, to act in concert with the persons disposed to remove their own capital to the colony. The knowledge that a large amount of hired labour would be available, in so productive a field of employment, would ensure a large emigration of capital from a country, like England, of low profits and rapid accumulation; and it would only be necessary not to send out a greater number of labourers at one time, than this capital could absorb and employ at high wages.' Now, what are the conditions under which Government is asked to assist emigration to the Tea Districts? Capital has actually been invested in the purchase of waste lands in Assam, Cachar, &c., and a large extent of land has been disposed of, and a fund



thus exists, which, on the Wakefield system, should be applied to defray the expense of emigration. Some may say that legislation on the subject of importation of labour into the tea districts is altogether hurtful. We are not of this opinion, but it is useless to discuss it. Government will assert its right to watch the interests of the class who emigrate, both in transit and after arrival. We believe that the radical evil of the present legislation is the entire negation of direct Government interest in the matter. Every one who has been any time in India, knows the unreasoning manner in which the lower classes of Bengal at least will chime in with what they suppose to be the wish of the 'Sircar.' It is, we fear, generally felt that the emigration to the tea districts, not only is not a Government measure, but that it is sometimes discountenanced by the local authorities. Time contracts are necessary at first, but the object of all concerned should be to get a permanent population, and whatever tends to fix the impression in the mind of the emigrant of a merely temporary sojourn *away from home* should be discouraged. Government should do all in its power to induce 'time-expired' men to remain in the district. This might be done by a bonus from the public purse, to be supplemented by one of equal amount from the planter on whose estate the labourer finally settles.

We would recommend some such system as the following. That an inland Emigration Agency should be established in Calcutta: supported in the first instance by subscriptions from public Companies, and private owners of tea estates: managed by a Board, chosen partly by subscribers, and partly by Government: the agent appointed by the Board. The Office of this Agency should be near the Sealdah Terminus of the Eastern Bengal Railway. A central, convenient spot in every district known to contain surplus labour should be chosen as the Station for a Recruiting Depôt. The officers in charge of these depôts should be chosen by the Calcutta Board; the Magistrate of the district having a power of supervision. In connection with each depôt should be an establishment of paid recruiters, to collect the coolies, who would be registered by the Superintendent; precautions being taken in their interest similar to those now ordered to be taken by the overworked Magistrate of the District. If the rules framed for the protection of the coolie under Act III. of 1863 are carried out at the source of supply, why should employers at the other end be defrauded of their rights by the labourers, for whose services they have paid so highly? A bonus, say of two rupees should be promised to every coolie on arriving at his destination. This, to some extent at least, would check desertion. The Depôt Superintendents

moreover would see that a proper class of men were recruited, *bona fide* labourers and not Brahmin boys, table servants in search of their wives, decrepit and diseased men, &c. To conduct properly the duties of a Recruiting Depot in a district containing much surplus labour would take the undivided attention of an intelligent officer. These duties now devolve on the Magistrate, and it is simply impossible that he can perform them.

The coolies should be despatched as they come in, in small numbers, say of fifteen or twenty, in charge of a peon on the recruiting establishment to the nearest Railway station. On no account should they be allowed to be massed in large numbers at the depot. They should be received at one or more depôts near the Sealdah Terminus of the Eastern Bengal Railway. Here again, massing the people should be avoided. The Calcutta depot should as a rule never contain more than 200 to 300 coolies at the outside. The Medical Inspector would carefully examine the labourers here, and see that they were supplied with the clothing, &c. now ordered in Act III. of 1863. They should be forwarded to Kooshtea as soon as possible, any unavoidable delay being rather incurred at that place, which is open and airy and infinitely superior to any spot that could be available in or about Calcutta. Various sanitary measures, especially latrines, would be introduced at Kooshtea, and thus the coolies would be prepared for their adoption at the gardens. The depôts at Kooshtea should be large and well constructed under the charge of a well-paid Medical Inspector; whose responsibility would cease, and that of the Medical Officer on board would commence, on the embarkation of the coolies; the Medical Inspector at Kooshtea however being empowered to examine the steamers or boats and to see that proper sanitary precautions were taken. Arrangements for medical care on board the steamers and flats could we think be easily made. It would be more difficult to manage for the charge of those proceeding by boats. Depôts at convenient landing places on the rivers in Assam, Cachar, and Sylhet up which the steamers pass, would be required. The expense of them would be trifling, as employers would always arrange to receive their labourers on arrival. If trustworthy natives to take charge of these depôts could not be found on the spot, they might be obtained from Dacca or elsewhere. The planters, to whose gardens the coolies were proceeding, should depute an European assistant to receive them on landing; and there, in presence of the medical officer and the local official, the two rupees bonus should be paid to the labourers. Once arrived at the gardens, the Protector would see that the coolies were judiciously and comfortably housed, &c. The duty of a Protector should be rather



to suggest the proper method of constructing and arranging coolie lines with reference to sanitary arrangements, &c., than a meddling interference, and prying into the personal treatment of the coolie. He would of course be always ready to hear the coolies' complaints, but should also have powers to protect the employer, by securing the fulfilment of the labourer's contract. The above being our view of the Protector's duties, we should think that the Civil Surgeon of the district would be the best available person for the post. We do not of course mean that that officer would be prepared to accompany every batch of coolies to their gardens, but that through his general supervision and attention to sanatory arrangements, the labourers would always find comfortable quarters ready for them. All subordinate medical officers, as also Assistant and Deputy Magistrates of Sub-Divisions, would assist in seeing that his orders were carried out. The duties would not be laborious. A medical man, whose education has embraced all those matters on which the health and comfort of the people would mainly depend could, by laying down a few general rules, by correspondence and by periodical inspection of lines, hospital, state of dispensary, &c. &c. do more practical good than half a dozen other men. A system of registration we consider to be absolutely necessary, returns being made through the Protector every three months, or oftener, to the head official of the district. These returns should show numbers of men, women, and children working, the numbers who had died, were in hospital, and who had deserted.

Captain Stewart in his report to the Bengal Government dated 7th May 1864, writes, 'There are now about 300 European planters in the district, and the returns would show 18,853 coolies at work, of whom 14,435 are imported, and the rest local labourers from Sylhet and Cachar. Last year's returns showed 9,335 imported coolies in the district, the increase during the present year would seem therefore to have been only 5,100. This is appalling when it is taken into consideration that it is an indisputable fact that since the 1st of May 1863, no less than 11,322 coolies have been imported under the new Act, not less than 1,000 having further come in under the old system since the last returns; of the 11,322 of whom a strict account has been kept, 10,351 reached the district alive, the rest having died or absconded on the way. Adding to this number that of 1,000, as a moderate computation of what arrived in Cachar after the 1st of May 1863, under the old system, we have 11,351, which added to the existing importations last year would give 20,686 as the number which should actually be in the district now, whereas the number as retu

' is only 14,435, leaving 6,251 souls to be accounted for within ' one year.'

Does this mean that in his opinion 6,251 coolies have died from ill treatment or illness, or that that number have absconded? Such a report from an official in Captain Stewart's position must necessarily carry great weight with the Government, and we can imagine nothing more likely to make it pause before giving the so-much desired assistance to the Planter to compel fulfilment of contract; but we are perfectly satisfied that the figures are wrong. The report, we believe, has been compiled from erroneous returns: and if so, the planters themselves are to blame rather than Captain Stewart. The mistake may have possibly arisen from the returns of 'coolies' having been called for; but however that may be, we believe the figures to be essentially incorrect. Most probably the reports sent in by the Planters do not include the large number of men employed on the gardens in other capacities than mere labourers. The more intelligent are chosen as burkundazes—chowkidars—sirdars—syces—grass-cutters—assistants in the workshops—tea-makers, and in various other capacities. Possibly the returns embraced only actual labourers on the gardens: in many cases women and children may not have been included; and time-expired men have possibly been altogether omitted. We cannot believe that wilful neglect or cruelty are the causes of the discrepancy. Systematic desertion *en route* and after arrival has doubtless occurred. Deaths above a reasonable rate of mortality we would ascribe partly to the number of coolies dispatched diseased, and partly to the want of proper sanitary arrangements and to the undoubted fact that the season referred to was particularly unhealthy. A gentleman, for instance, whom we know to be most considerate and careful of his people, told us that during the year referred to in Captain Stewart's report, twenty men died on a garden belonging to him, where only two died the previous season. That our view of this matter is correct, is confirmed by the following paragraph from a letter from Captain Stewart, to the Commissioner of Dacca, dated 13th September 1864, in which he says on this subject:—'The fact is that ' no sort of account appears to have been kept of the number ' of coolies received or those who have died or absconded, ' been discharged or imprisoned, and that there is no means of ' arriving at a correct result.'

An intelligent Protector of Emigrants would no doubt be most useful to both employers and employed, in inspecting coolie lines and hospitals, suggesting improvements in their position, arrangement, mode of building, &c. &c. certifying to the officials that



the coolies were properly cared for; and having summary powers to oblige the coolie to fulfil his contract. We do not think that the employer can justly complain if the Government chooses to satisfy itself that thousands of men and women and children, its subjects, transported from their homes to comparatively uncleared, and often unhealthy localities, are properly housed and cared for. We are equally sure that the labourer would have no just cause of complaint if the Government insisted on his honestly performing his contract. The main defects of Act III. of 1863, as we have before said, we take to be, absence of all recognition of the interest of Government in the importation of labour, insufficient provision for fair play to both employer and employed at the source of supply; unnecessary massing of labourers in transit, and insufficient provision at the place of final embarkation, Kooshtea; and insufficient provision at his destination for his comfort and for the honest fulfilment of his contract. We think some such system as we have suggested, combining the action of those employing the labour and the supervision of the Government in the interest of both employers and employed, would ere long ensure to the districts a willing, happy, thriving, and permanent population, sufficient to secure both the wants of the tea gardens and the undertaking of other agricultural pursuits. We may here, while admitting that at present, clearing and plucking, absorb the planter's attention, just refer to the fact that the grantees ere long will have to consider how best to secure the future stability of their property by giving their labourers a direct interest in the soil. The low lands suitable to other crops might be leased rent-free now and hereafter at low rates; with a provision for labour to be rendered at certain rates and times to the tea-factory,—a tenure, in fact, answering to the Chakra of a native Zemindar in Lower Bengal.

The cost of such an agency as we recommend, must be considered. First let us see what the present system, only for Cachar, costs, and let us take as a basis the Superintendent of Cachar's official report already referred to. From May 1863 to May 1864, 11,322 labourers have been imported under Act III. of 1863 to Cachar. The present rate is, and has been for some time, sixty rupees, let us say fifty-five, giving the cost of dispatching 11,322 coolies to be Rs. 6,22,710. Such an Agency as we recommend and capable of supplying say 24,000 coolies annually, should be kept up at an expense of about Rs. 500,000, or Rs. twenty-one per man. Could the work be done at the rate of Rs. thirty even per man to Cachar and Sylhet, and Rs. thirty-five to forty to Assam, it would be comparatively reasonable. At the present

rate 24,000 men, 12,000 to Assam, say at Rs. seventy, and 12,000 to Sylhet and Cachar at Rs. fifty-five, would cost fifteen lakhs of Rupees. The gain by proper organization would be enormous, both employers and labourers profiting by the change.

The following is merely an approximate sketch of what the annual expenditure might be:—

	Monthly. Rs.	Annually. Rs.
Agent in Calcutta, ... .. at	800	9,600
Medical Inspector, ... .. „	300	3,600
Establishment and Office rent, ... .. „	200	2,400
<i>6 Recruiting Depôts.</i>		
Superintendent at Rs. 300 ... ..	1,800	21,600
<i>60 Recruiters, 2 Grades.</i>		
40 at Rs. 7 ... ..	280	3,360
20 at „ 10 ... ..	200	2,400
6 Establishments at Rs. 30 ... ..	180	2,160
6 House rents at Rs. 30 ... ..	180	2,160
<i>Kooshtea.</i>		
Medical Inspector having sole charge	400	4,800
Establishment and house rent ... ..	100	1,200
Rail and steamer fare, clothing, &c. at Rs. 15 p. head		
24,000 men .. ..		3,60,000
Incidental expenses ... ..		18,520
Total Rs.		4,26,800
<i>20 Receiving Depôts at final destination.</i>		
Native Superintendent at Rs. 25	500	6,000
Establishment at Rs. 10 ... ..	200	2,400
<i>Protectors.</i>		
Civil Surgeons of the Stations at Rs. 200		
4 in Assam Rs. 800		
2 in Cachar „ 400		
1 in Sylhet „ 200 ... ..	1,400	16,800
Bonus to 24,000 Coolies at Rs. 2 p. head		48,000
Total Rs.		5,00,000

The expenses from the place of disembarkation, say Rs. 73,200 should, we think, be borne by the Government, as its share of the expense of importing labour into its waste territories.



The bonus of two rupees per man thus paid would have a good effect, in convincing the coolie that his presence in the new district was desired by Government. The cost to the capitalist would at this rate be within eighteen rupees per man.

Intimately connected with the question of importing labour is that of retaining it when imported. This difficulty has always been incidental to emigration, and is specially mentioned by Political Economists as one reason what it should be conducted under the auspices of the Government. This trouble has reached a climax in the North-Eastern Tea Districts of Bengal, and we believe that both the Government of India and that of Bengal are satisfied that special legislation is absolutely necessary to compel the imported labourer to fulfil his contract to his employer.

No doubt it would be preferable to work without a contract law, but it is simply impossible to do so *till one is passed*; and in our opinion till a system of inland emigration recognised by the Government is established. The columns of the Calcutta papers have for months passed teemed with complaints of the non-fulfilment by the coolies of their contracts. In the *Englishman* of the 7th November is the statement of a case which we will instance to illustrate the question, because it is given under the name of the party aggrieved, a gentleman whom moreover we know to be incapable of cruel or unjust treatment of his labourers. Mr. J. T. Jamieson tells us that a batch of coolies having been consigned to him; he made arrangements for their being comfortably to meet them housed and fed preparatory to their joining his garden, and himself went to Seeb-saugor. They refused to move on the plea that there were leeches at the gardens, and that they would have to hoe land. The Deputy Commissioner explained to the coolies the impropriety of their conduct, and urged fulfilment of their engagements. They desired instead to be imprisoned. A suit was brought against the ringleaders, and the Deputy Commissioner again explained that they were bound to go to the garden and must go. To this they replied that he had no power to force them to do so, and begged rather to be put in jail. The men were sentenced to a month's imprisonment under the Penal Code. Mr. Jamieson then desired to know whether they would not still be bound after release to work out their time under their own agreement that any punishment which might be inflicted either under the Penal Code or Act XIII. of 1859 would not cancel the remaining portion of their contract; but the Deputy Commissioner said that he had no power to enforce this Clause. In fact after enduring a month's imprisonment the coolies were

free to engage themselves elsewhere in Assam, to return to the contractors in Calcutta for re-engagement, or to go to their homes. It is of course difficult to explain the motives of the coolies in thus acting; Mr. Jamieson is known to treat his coolies well, and those who have already worked in his gardens are attached to him; the bad repute of the planter therefore could not be the cause. In this case certainly there was no inclination on the part of the official to act against the planter's interest; every possible consideration was shown, every thing done to settle the matter amicably. Whether it was simply the unreasoning perversity which one sometimes sees in the lower orders in India, or a desire to return to Calcutta and to reengage themselves to some dishonest contractor, or an unwillingness to serve owing to their having been deceived as to the nature of the work they would have to perform, whatever may have been the reason. Mr. Jamieson was undoubtedly very hardly and unjustly used. There are scores of cases as bad as this one. To obviate these evils something more than a desultory supervision of transit of emigrants is necessary. Every precaution must be taken to ensure the coolies fully comprehending the nature of their voluntarily entered into agreements, but this done, they should be compelled to fulfil their contracts. The principle of mutual confidence between planter and labourer is no doubt that on which the tea gardens should be worked, and nothing will sooner tend to establish such confidence than a fair contract law. Labour is now the one vital necessity of the cultivation, and it is utterly absurd to imagine that coolies will be driven from the tea gardens by ill treatment, such conduct being simply suicidal. We have heard an Assam planter on the subject, now let us hear a voice from Cachar.

On the 15th October a numerously attended meeting took place at Silchar, the head station of the district of Cachar, for the purpose of considering the position of tea planting as regards imported labour. The spirit which animated that meeting must surely satisfy the most ardent pro-coolie advocate of the kind feeling existing on the part of the planters towards the coolies. Not a word was breathed against legal provisions on behalf of the labourer. By all means, say the Cachar planters, secure kind treatment to our people by any measures you think right. We do not admit the *necessity* of such legislation, for we are sane if not humane men, and have no idea of as Mr. Bell said, killing the goose that lays the golden eggs, but we deprecate your one-sided legislation. It tends to foster an antagonistic feeling between us and our imported labourers. They see every possible precaution taken on their



behalf, while we are left utterly at their mercy, they being allowed to leave our service practically with impunity. We will assist in every possible way in carrying out measures to secure a healthy and contented labouring population. It is our interest to do so, but at present the coolies look on us, taught to do so by your legislation, as their natural enemies instead of as their friends. We are regarded with suspicion by the Government, this reacts on the ignorant class of men we employ, and the result must be as disastrous to the Government as to ourselves. Mr. R. C. Bell, an old indigo planter, gave a happy illustration of the relation between the European planter and his coolie in Bengal by describing the position of the colony of bonwa coolies which exists in almost every indigo factory. Whatever may have been said against the old system of indigo planting, we have never heard that the bonwa coolie was cruelly treated in an indigo factory. The relative position of the planter and coolie in a tea and indigo plantation is precisely the same. Mr. Bell in describing the position of the coolie in the latter so exactly describes what it ought to be in tea gardens, that we cannot do better than quote his own words—‘these coolies came of their own accord to the factories in batches of fifties and hundreds, and then settled down, getting from the proprietor a little land, rent-free, for the cultivation of paddy for their own consumption; this they cultivated before and after hours of work, for they steadily worked for the factory; and the provident amongst them soon became well off, comfortable, and comparatively rich. But they never thought of returning to their native country; they were content to remain where they were, where many of them were born, and so they became as it were part and parcel of the property on which they had settled; and in this manner in many of the old factories these labourers could be counted as having been settled for some two or three generations.’ Mr. Bell goes on to say ‘that the planter was kind and considerate to his coolies, partly from a natural kindness of heart, and principally because he well knew that much of the success of his year’s operations depended on their faithfulness to him. And did not the tea planter of Cachar and Assam stand in the same position towards his imported coolies? Did not the success or failure of his vast enterprise mainly depend on their faithfulness to him? and would he not do as much to make his coolie happy as the indigo planter?’ Mr. Bell also justly says ‘that although there was no special law for their protection, and they were left, should he say, to the tender mercies of the planter, such a thing as a coolie seeking redress from a Magistrate against his master was never

'heard of, although he was free to leave the factory for that 'or any other purpose at all times.' Mr. Morgan gave the meeting some very interesting information regarding the Mauritius, and explained how planter and imported coolie were alike protected in that colony. He claimed even-handed justice for both sides. While strongly deprecating the exportation beyond sea of a single coolie from India to the Mauritius or elsewhere, we are aware that many useful hints may be derived from that colony as to the management of an imported population. Mr. Morgan asks for laws similar to those existing in the Mauritius for the regulation of coolie labour and for 'stipendiary magistrates to overlook and enforce the same.' 'This would afford, 'he says,' to Government the best guarantee of the uprightness and honesty of our intentions, as the 'province of the stipendiary magistrate and his jurisdiction 'would be a protectorship for the coolie at the same time that 'for us it would be a guarantee for our future.' That the position of tea cultivation in Cachar (and the same may be said of Assam) is becoming most serious, is evident from the statistical facts laid before this meeting at Silchar by its Chairman Mr. A. P. Sandeman, and embodied in its Resolutions. It appears that during the past seasons operations 'the quantity and 'quality of tea manufactured has suffered to the extent of thirty 'to forty per cent.'—'that at least 3,000 acres of land cleared 'for cultivation has from the same cause lapsed again into jungle;' the present cultivation being in all 28,000 acres. It appears that lately there were at one time so many as 300 coolies in the Silchar jail for breach of contract. We have no doubt that after the passing of a law for fulfilment of contract this exceptional state of things will pass away, but at present the necessity for some law to ensure fulfilment of contract appears to be generally admitted: and it is understood that a bill for this purpose will shortly be introduced into the Bengal Council. We hope that a wish to provide for the interests of the coolie will not cause the insertion of vexatious clauses which would make the successful working of the law almost impossible, or at all events dependent entirely on the personal bias of those charged with its administration. We have heard that the proposed law specially empowers the magistrate to suspend the contract of female labourers, on the plea of pregnancy or 'family duties'; thus necessitating the addition of the study of midwifery to the curriculum of our competitionwallahs, to enable them to decide whether the female complainants come under the clause or not. It provides for extra allowances to the labourer when sick, a sure premium for idleness! also for re-engagement under the aus-



pices of the magistrate at the expiry of the turn of service. Re-engagement under existing circumstances may be expedient, but it should be the aim of Government and the Tea Planter to settle an agricultural population accustomed to work for hire, not to perpetuate a body of contract labourers. Provision is made, we believe for domiciliary inspection: and the summoning of labourers to enquire into the treatment of themselves and fellow-labourers. Such provisions by law are vexatious. Interference between employers and employed should be avoided as much as possible. The ordinary administration of the law, Courts being increased in number if necessary, should suffice to protect the labourer on a tea plantation, as it does the bonwa coolie or ryot elsewhere. Whatever special supervision is necessary should be embraced in the duties of the Protector. We believe the proposed Act provides for the transfer of contracts in case of transfer of the estates, and also for punishment for breach of contract, which punishment will not release the labourer from the obligation of working out his full period of service. This is just, and will no doubt have a beneficial effect: but, whatever law is passed should, we think, be based on the principle of Government having a direct interest in populating the tea districts. Were Act III. of 1863 repealed, a new Act might embrace provisions for care in selecting labour in the first instance and protection of emigrants in transit and on arrival at their destination; providing at the same time for the due fulfilment of contracts. It is worthy of consideration whether a few acres of land near the jail might not be advantageously cultivated with tea and other products of the district by the prisoners. Botanical Gardens at Silchar, Sebsaugor, and other centres of tea cultivation would be both useful and ornamental, and the proceeds, at least from the tea portion of them, would soon more than defray all expenditure connected with the jails: and might in time form a fund, to be supplemented if necessary by a percentage from the proceeds of sale of waste lands, for the payment of all Government charges connected with the importation of labour into the several tea districts.

Simultaneously with the opening of hitherto waste provinces, and the consequent demand for labour, necessarily came demand for coin to pay that labour. The land revenue of the tea districts themselves was of course comparatively small, and when cultivation became extended, the want of a sufficient circulation was severely felt. Government admitted the difficulty; and measures were adopted to supply the want. It was arranged that the Calcutta currency circle should be extended to Assam, Cachar, and Sylhet, one place of issue in Assam,

Gowhatty, being fixed on, and the Collector of Gowhatty was authorized not only to cash all notes of the Gowhatty issue, but to deal liberally with notes of all other circles to a moderate amount, which might be presented. These arrangements contributed to facilitate the circulation in the tea districts, but it was evident that ten rupee notes would be useless as a circulating medium among the lower classes, especially when we remember the large number of coolies employed on the tea plantations. Coin therefore became absolutely necessary. Its importation by every individual trader to the extent of his own wants, would, it is plain, have entailed great inconvenience and expense. The revenue of the tea districts themselves, would, after satisfying the Government wants, supply a certain portion of the cash required, and this was at once made available by the sale in Calcutta of Bills on the Treasuries in the tea districts. It would obviously cost less to send the surplus revenue from these outlying districts to those treasuries on which drafts would require to be drawn, than to remit it to Calcutta. Hence the issue of Bills to the extent of the surplus, even at a small discount, would be a gain to Government. The judicious arrangements made by the Government of Bengal, for the provision of a sufficient amount of specie to meet the Bills drawn on the various Treasuries in the tea districts, have worked admirably. The Government and the trade of the North-Eastern districts have mutually benefited. Instead of the costly and clumsy method of dispatch of treasure under escort, and where steam was available, that comparatively expensive mode of transit; the safe, cheap, and expeditious plan of remittance by sale of bills was adopted; thus the trade of the tea districts conferred a boon upon the Government which that of Bengal was not slow to appreciate, or, if the other way of putting it be preferred, the public received a legitimate assistance from its Government for which it was thankful. During the past year the funds required by Tea Planters, lime merchants, and other traders, have been obtained regularly by means of drafts at half per cent. premium, to cover whatever expense may have been incurred by Government. The specie thus made available was not however sufficient for the wants of the growing trade: nor was there Banking business in the district sufficient to warrant the establishment of Branch Banks. Under these circumstances, it became a question how Government might assist trade by throwing a further supply of coin into the districts. This, it was proposed, should be done by extending the area from which treasure was dispatched, and by making available the surplus revenue from Sylhet, Dacca, Tipperah,



Mymensing, Rungpoor, and Backergunge; any extra expense to Government being provided for by an additional charge of a quarter per cent. premium.

The Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department, in a letter dated the 3rd of June 1864, has however ordered the withdrawal of the accommodation, on the grounds, it would appear, of loss to the Government, and a wish not to interfere with legitimate Banking business. The letter is addressed to the Government of Bengal, its language is curt and abrupt, and its tone the reverse of courteous. The spirit of its remarks regarding 'Tea Planters' is very unlike that which would characterise allusions to gentlemen connected with a most important branch of commerce in a dispatch from Mr. Gladstone. The letters of the Bengal Government to which the one under notice is a reply are said to 'relate to two totally distinct matters, *viz.*, the progress of the Paper Currency in Assam, and 'the supply of funds for the use of the Tea Planters in Assam and Cachar,' to be propositions 'to the effect that nine lakhs of rupees are to be held in reserve in the Local Treasuries in Assam and Cachar, to meet the private remittances of gentlemen engaged in trade or tea planting in those provinces, in addition to what is required for the public service,' 'the Governor-General in Council' is said to be 'of opinion that it would be as reasonable to pay a portion of the wages of the labourers of the Tea Planters out of the Public Treasury, as to pay the expense of remitting the silver which is required to pay the labourers.' The letter goes on to say, 'Even if there were no such decided financial objection, there is no apparent reason why the Government should undertake generally to do this business for the planters, *first*, because it is believed that they are quite capable of doing it for themselves; and *secondly*, because it is generally very undesirable that the Government should undertake to do anything of this kind for the community, which the community can do for itself, inasmuch as it prevents private Banks, operating by means of private capital, from being established at proper places in the interior.' It is announced that the existing accommodation will be withdrawn on the 31st of December 1864, in the following terms:—'But as the Governor-General is unwilling suddenly to put a stop to an arrangement whereby the convenience of a number of persons is for the present promoted, before time is allowed for the formation of Local Branch Banks, through the agency of which assistance may be given at the expense of those who may require it, the existing arrangement will remain unchanged until the end of December

next.' The surplus local revenue in Assam and Cachar, with that of the outlying district of Mymensing is alone to be available to the 'Planters'; who are roundly told that they cannot be relieved 'at the public expense from the duty and 'responsibility which properly belongs to them.'

This letter, a unique specimen of official correspondence, is to be found in the supplement to the *Gazette of India* for 23rd July 1864.

It is a curious coincidence that the letter from the Government of Bengal, to the Officiating Deputy Auditor and Accountant-General of Bengal, to which this one from the Financial Department of the Government of India specially refers, does not once mention tea planters or the tea trade. Of course it is patent to every one that it is to the cultivation of tea that the extraordinary and rapid development of Assam and Cachar are to be attributed; but the currency and bill arrangements are properly spoken of with reference to the 'great convenience to 'the public,' 'facilities to trade,' 'interests of the internal commerce of Bengal.' It was not a question as to what branch of trade was facilitated. It happens that tea is the principal export from the North-Eastern provinces; but it is no fault of the British subjects of the Government that this is the case. They would gladly be driving a flourishing trade with the adjacent province of Munnipoor, in coffee, India rubber, ivory, silk, vanille, ponies, &c. &c. It is no fault of theirs that ere now, communication between our Eastern territory and the precious-stone bearing district in Burmah and so on to China has not been opened out; the nearest garrison town of the latter country is not much more than 200 miles from Silchar; and the province to which it belongs, teems with a population that would gladly emigrate to our territory, had they a free passage through Munipoor. But to return to the Financial Secretary's letter. The Bengal Government has replied with dignity and force to its sneering paragraphs. The assumption that it was proposed to apply the public revenue to pay the wages of the labourers of the tea plantations is as reasonable as it would be to say that Sir Charles Wood employs the revenues of India to pay the coolies who load ships in the Hooghly, because the money received from the General Treasury in Calcutta by merchants in payment of bills drawn by the Secretary of State in London is used in trade. The Bengal Government replies courteously to the string of uncalled-for assumptions, that 'the propositions contained in paragraphs 5 to '10 of the letter from this office, No. 209 T. dated the 18th May '1864, to the Officiating Deputy Auditor and Accountant-Ge-



'neral, Bengal, appear to have been somewhat misunderstood,' proceeds quietly and ably to point out the real position, and asks permission to use 'the surplus receipts of Rungpore, Sylhet, Tipperah, Dacca, and Backergunge, to the full extent that may be required for the purposes of internal trade,' and suggests in what, from the tenor of the objections answered, cannot but appear a vein of polished irony, that 'if the demands for Bills on Assam and Cachar should hereafter at any time seem likely to exceed the amount which these treasuries can yield, a remedy should be supplied, not by a sudden refusal to grant Bills on Assam and Cachar on any terms, but by a timely rise in the rate of premium, the effect of which would be to give traders time and opportunity for making other arrangements and at the same time to secure the Government against the possibility of loss.' The Bengal Government continues on behalf of the commercial interest in the North-Eastern districts. These recommendations I am to add, are made, not as the Government of India would seem to have supposed, in the interest of the tea planters alone, but in that of the large body of traders, European and Native, who are engaged in agriculture and trade in Assam and Cachar, and who, while pursuing their own occupations, are at the same time augmenting the commerce and the public revenues of Bengal. Great consideration is due to those who embark their capital in individual enterprise in districts, which, though they have formed part of British India for more than a quarter of a century, are still without roads, or any means of communication with the capital and the sea-coast, except such as nature has provided. It is to be observed also that while the revenue drawn from Bengal has for years past been liberally given for public works in other parts of India, Bengal itself has not until quite lately been allowed in any way to benefit by the expenditure of her own surplus income on reproductive works, and even now the sum allotted to her for this purpose is less in proportion to area, population, or revenue, than that allotted to any other province. It seems to the Lieut.-Governor under these circumstances, a small thing for the Government to assist the operations of trade in this direction by continuing an arrangement which has caused no public inconvenience, and by so arranging its specie remittances, as to place money where it is most wanted at the least possible expense, instead of conveying large quantities of coin from distant districts to the presidency merely that it may be carried back in the direction whence it came at the cost and risk of individuals.' The Civilian Governor contrasts curiously with the English Treasury Lord and Politi-

cal Economist, who has apparently been unable to rid himself of the anti-interloper crust acquired in his old Indian training thirty years ago.

The grounds assigned for withdrawing the accommodation are loss said to be incurred by Government in the remittance of specie from the various outlying Treasuries, loss of interest on the cash balances it is necessary to keep to meet the bills, and a consideration for private enterprise shewn in the wish not to interfere with the establishment of banks. We confess we do not understand how the loss on the remittance of specie is made out. The cost of sending coin from many of the Treasuries to Calcutta would far exceed that of despatching it to Assam and Cachar. From some it might be the same, and probably from one or two the cost might be a trifle more, but any possible loss was amply provided against by the proposed charge of half per cent. premium to be increased to three-quarters per cent. on the area being extended. The loss ascribed to the retention of the necessary balances on the Treasuries to meet the bills is we are satisfied, merely nominal if not altogether imaginary, for it must be remembered that the sale of bills is not uncertain or fluctuating. The bulk of remittances is made by the large joint stock companies and individuals engaged in the cultivation of tea, and the annual amount required can be ascertained at the commencement of the year within a few thousands of rupees. Then as to the prevention of the establishment of private banks? the Financial Secretary of the Government of India says, 'Considering how greatly additional capital is wanted in India, and how willing England is to afford it, this must be admitted to be a great evil.' To this the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal justly replies that even were branch banks established, it would still be incumbent on the Government to make the surplus receipts available to the banks for the public convenience; but it is a fact that there is *not* sufficient business to warrant the establishment of a branch bank either in Assam or Cachar. That England is willing to give additional capital to India may be true enough, but England would wish to be satisfied that provinces a few years ago swarming with tigers and elephants are ripe for the establishment of banks. We would be the last to underrate the enterprise of our countrymen in Assam and Cachar, but they have no desire to assume a position to which they have not yet attained. It is with curious inconsistency that the Financial Department assumes that these provinces are so advanced, when it is doing all it can to retard their prosperity. The district of Cachar alone will this year export about 1,200,000 lbs. of tea which at the present duty of one shilling a pound will



yield say £60,000 to the British Government. Within the next four or five years the Customs' revenue from the districts affected by this great stroke of financial economy should exceed a million sterling. It does seem hard that such a trade at a time too when it is labouring under the heavy disadvantages of scarcity and dearness of labour should be throttled for a paltry saving of a few hundred pounds. That the order cannot and will not be carried out we are sure, but the fact of its having been proposed is too extraordinary to be overlooked. It is a measure worthy of the old deporting and obstructive times of the East India Company.\* It might have been supposed that this sudden stoppage of supplies would cause great inconvenience, and possibly throw the tea districts into serious confusion, especially as it was well known that a large proportion of the population are dependant for their daily food on regular supplies of cash to the tea gardens. The Financial Department cannot plead ignorance of this fact after taunting the Bengal Government that the accommodation was wanted 'to pay the wages of the labourers in tea gardens.' When so much interest is taken by Government in the transit of the imported population, a little more consideration might have been shewn for their wants after they were imported. It may be said that six months' warning was given. In reply to this we can only say that this warning was a mere adding of insult to injury, and that the measure appeared so wantonly unjust and absurd that the planters could never realize that it would be actually carried out. It has been suggested that remittances might be made from Calcutta by currency notes and presented for cash at the Treasuries, thus causing Government great inconvenience and forcing it to supply coin to sustain its own credit. It is forgotten, however, that a currency note can only legally be presented for cash at its own place of issue. For Assam, Cachar, and Sylhet that place is Gowhatty, and these only for notes of its own issue. Only notes therefore with the Gowhatty distinguishing mark would be available as remittances, and these would not be procurable in any number in Calcutta. To accommodate the public, but in connection with the arrangements for sufficient supply of coin, the Collector of Gowhatty was certainly ordered not to refuse the notes of any circle to a modern extent, but with the stopping of arrangements to supply coin to meet this demand, the facility of

\* Since these lines were written, the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal's proposal to make the surplus treasure of the districts, mentioned above, available to the tea districts, has been acceded to by the Government of India. This was to be expected so soon as the matter received Sir John Lawrence's personal attention.

cashing notes of other circles would of course cease. We have said more than needful, it may be thought, on this subject, but the matter is in itself one of vital importance, and it is well that our home readers should understand in what straits their countrymen in India are sometimes placed. It is curious that the 'C. E. Trevelyan', who was one of Lord William Bentinck's Tea Committee just thirty years ago, should have so little sympathy with the success of that great experiment in which Lord William took so deep an interest. Fortunately for the trade of the North-Eastern Provinces the more enlarged policy of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has neutralized the narrower views of the Financier of the Government of India.

We have traced so far as our knowledge and the information at our disposal has enabled us to do so, the cultivation of Tea in India from its first discovery to the present time. The importance of the discovery some forty years ago by the brothers Bruce we have seen was at once appreciated by Lord William Bentinck, the possibility of the profitable culture was tested and proved at the Experimental Tea Gardens of the Government, mainly under the able management of Dr. Jamieson. The cultivation received a great impetus by the facility afforded for the acquisition of tea land by the liberal sale-of-waste-land rules of Lord Canning. Capital was freely poured forth from the accumulations at home both to open out gardens, and to assist by advances to carry them on. For a time there seemed a mania for tea cultivation. Land jobbers made large sums of money, and gardens made for sale and sold to Companies realized enormous sums. Matters went on in this way and were fast assuming, if they had not already assumed, an unhealthy aspect, when the extreme scarcity of money at the close of 1863 checked speculation and caused a reaction. Till then the new undertaking had progressed rapidly and apparently with uninterrupted success. During 1863 however, the anticipated scarcity of labour began to be severely felt. Extensions beyond the means of working them helped to make this want the more pressing. The evils of an ill-organized system of inland emigration were experienced, and it became the duty of Government to legislate for the protection of the imported labourers. The almost immediate result was enormously increased cost of labour with little corresponding advantage to the coolie; and this because the legislation was unfortunately one-sided, and ignored the direct interest of the Government in emigration; no precautions being taken to secure fulfilment of contract, the imported labourers soon discovered that they might cancel their agreements



with impunity, and did so. In the midst of these difficulties the Government of India, or rather its Financial Department, threatened after the close of the year 1864 to annul the facilities afforded by the Government of Bengal for the circulation of coin in the tea districts, and although this threat was not carried into effect in the way intended, the necessities of the Bhootan expedition have for a time interrupted remittances in the usual manner. Although the heads of both the Government of India and that of Bengal are without doubt heartily desirous of encouraging the enterprise of their countrymen by every legitimate means in their power, the prospect of soon becoming independent of China for our tea has nevertheless been suddenly overclouded. The difficulties of the subject are however, we are sure, fully recognised. Over-speculation was, we hope, checked in time, and the great hindrances to the successful prosecution of the enterprise, though very serious, are not we trust insurmountable. A Contract Law is now acknowledged to be necessary, and if the Government will but allow that it has a direct interest in the importation of a 'robust' labouring population into its waste territory, and make organization for Inland Emigration on a large scale feasible, the present difficulties will, we feel sure soon vanish, and the tea-trade of India will become of far greater importance than even Lord William Bentinck ever anticipated. Our remarks on the present culture and manufacture of tea are we know open to criticism. They are given as suggestions, and with the view as much of eliciting as of giving information. We have pointed out the danger we think all Tea Companies must experience from unsound adjustment of their Capital and Revenue Accounts, and have endeavoured to impress on all interested the vital importance of attention to the comfort and wants of the imported labourer.

We have already exceeded our space, and can only in conclusion hope that all interested in the great enterprise will do their best towards developing the tea trade of India; the Government, recognising the difficulties of importing and retaining labour, will we trust see it their duty to assist in the introduction of a healthy population into the tea districts, competent to work and to form the nucleus of a thriving happy community. The tea planters on the other hand must clearly recognise their duty to assist the Government in carrying out measures for the comfort of their imported labourers. They must not wince at necessary regulations, but work hand in hand with Protectors, when they are appointed, to ensure the health and comfort of their people. When the imported population find their European employers are their friends, mindful of them when sick, reasonable in their

demands on their time, and providing for the instruction of their children, they will become attached to their new homesteads, and will soon become rooted to the soil. A contract law will become a dead letter, and the tea districts of Bengal will be peopled with a British and native population, mutually depending on and attached to each other. A boon will at the same time be conferred on our country, by making it independent of a foreign despot for a necessary of life; a rich trade will be opened up, bringing with it a large addition to the Revenue, and another outlet will be given to the surplus energy of Great Britain.

NOTE.—We have with much pleasure given a place to this article as a temperate and fairly written statement of the case from the planters' point of view. At the same time it may be necessary to state in order to avoid misapprehension that we by no means go entirely with the author in his view of the action which Government ought to take in promoting emigration to the tea districts. We would lay down two principles:—*first*, that Government ought to have a settled and definite policy on every question of political importance likely to come before it:—*second*, that Government should never undertake anything which any person or body of persons interested can do for themselves. In the case before us, it is right for the Government to take into consideration whether the settlement in the tea districts of a body of agricultural labourers drawn from various parts of India be, on broad grounds, advantageous to the state or not. Even if the answer be negative, it would be no business of Government to *check* the immigration, which is a question between man and man; but it would be its duty to avoid encouraging or assisting the immigration by special legislation or special instructions to its executive. If, as is far more probable, the result of such inquiry would be favourable, our second principle comes into play. The limits of the action of Government will be strictly defined by the simple rule that, if what is expedient towards the recognized end, can be done by private enterprise and association, Government may not undertake it; the whole work of Government in a matter of this sort (independent of the common supervision which it is bound to exercise under general laws over all that goes on) is *supplementary* to the work of the parties interested. In recruiting coolies, Government is bound to see that unfit men, who are likely not to endure the hardships of the passage, are not permitted to leave their homes, and this not because the planters are not interested in the selection of fit men, but because they have no agency which can adequately control the selection; but that Government should in any way *invite* parties to leave their homes is not to be heard of. So with the expenses of passage; (see p. 329.) Why should Government bear any part of the share of the expense? It would *pay* the employers of labours to undertake the whole expense, and why therefore should the public at large be saddled with any portion of it? Let those pay who derive a direct gain from the transaction; not the common taxpayer, who cannot be expected to appreciate a drain upon his purse for motives of pure philanthropy, or the well-being of a remote province. The principle is common-place enough; and has long been recognized and acted upon in the dealings of the English Government with railways and the like; but it seems to require constant reiteration in this country. All that Government, admitting to the full its interest in the colonization of Cachar, is bound to do for the capitalist, is to secure free scope for his *endeavours* to recruit labourers, and to take care that the indi-



vidual capitalist, who has spent money in collecting and conveying labourers, shall be the person to benefit from their labour; and for this a well considered contract law appears to be requisite. On the other hand there exists undoubtedly a feeling, betrayed by several of the speakers in the late Cachar meeting, that Government is doing too much for the other party to the transaction, for the labourers themselves. All these gentlemen admit to the full that the well-being of the labourer must be a subject of vital importance to the planter, and rely upon their own interest in the matter to secure good treatment for their coolies. But experience in all parts of the world has shown that this is a broken reed to lean upon. The enlightened self-interest of educated men may be trusted. But there are *Legrees* and *Schonemanns* in every community, and law and administration must always pre-suppose such cases. Nineteen-twentieths of the Cachar planters may be left to themselves without 'vexatious interference'; good, but what influence has their right feeling upon the remaining twentieth? they are content to feel that they treat their own coolies well, but what measures have they taken to prevent the misconduct of a *Schonemann*, or to bring him to justice when guilty? If the right-thinking class of the community formed themselves into a Coolie's Protection Society, Government would no doubt be glad not to interfere; but this is just one of the cases where the interest of Government is distinct (it being one of the fundamental duties of Government to protect all classes from oppression) and the interest of the individual (in the well-being of other people's labourers) is so remote, as seldom to be able to overcome the habitual indolence and passivity which we feel about the affairs of others; and therefore one of the cases in which the interference of Government is just and necessary; and the only question is, how it can be exercised in the least vexatious way.—*EDITOR.*

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ART. III.—1. *La Religion Primitive des Indo-Européens*; par Eugene Flotard. 8vo. Paris, 1864.

2. *The Rig-Veda Sanhita, Liber Primus*, 1 vol. 4to. London, Oriental Translation Fund, Allen and Co., 1836.

3. *The Chandogya Upanishad of the Sama Veda; with Extracts from the Commentaries of Sankara Acharya. Translated from the original Sanskrit, by Rajendra Lal Mitra.* Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1862.

4. *Sankara Bejoy*, by Anunda Giri. MSS.

5. *Chaitanaya Charita Mrita, or Life of Chaitanaya.* Bengali, 1 vol. 4to.

6. *Discourses read at the Meetings of the Hindu Theophilanthropic Society, Vol. I.* Calcutta: by P. S. D'Rozario and Co. 1844.

7. *The Tattwa Bhodini Potrika.*

8. *The Brahmo Somaj Vindicated, being the Substance of a Lecture delivered ex-tempore at the Calcutta Brahmo Somaj Hall on Saturday, 18th April 1863,* Calcutta: Savielle and Collier, Cossitollah. 1863.

THE Hindu religion represents a composite faith. It was gradually moulded into the double form of an exoteric and esoteric creed, separating the practical and popular worship from the speculative and philosophical doctrines. While the great mass of the people addressed their fears, their wishes, and their aspirations to images carved out of wood, stone, and metal, some few of cultivated minds and comprehensive intellect, pondered on the profundities of man and nature, and followed a philosophical creed. But the votaries of Vishnu and Shiva, Doorga and Kali, in the almost endless variety of forms in which these deities are worshipped, profess that their mode of worship, though immediately springing from the Poorans, is based on the Vedas.

The professors of the esoteric creed, while maintaining that its essence is the doctrine of the unity of God, permit and even inculcate idolatry, as suited to those who are, by reason of their limited understanding, incapacitated from realizing and worshipping the one true God.

Ignorance is the foundation of superstition. It has



been for a long time a moot question to theologians and philosophers whether theism or idolatry is of more ancient origin. There are some who suppose that theism is in accordance with the intuitions and first suggestions of the human mind, and by no means incompatible with an infantine state of society, but that idolatry is the result of a variety of conclusions arrived at by different men, differently circumstanced, in a long course of ages; while others advocate the priority of idolatry, and maintain that theism presupposes a very high degree of mental and moral cultivation. Idolatry certainly arises from the partial and distorted ideas to which the faculties of man are limited when they are uncultivated, and theism generally is the result of philosophical generalization. As long as men look upon isolated facts, they cannot divest themselves of narrow and false views of the universe and its creator. Considering the phenomena of the universe as unconnected with each other, and attributing them to different agencies, they are led to recognise an Agni as the principle of the organic world, and an Indra as the governor of the firmament, but the simple and sublime idea of one director over all implies a capacity to appreciate the phenomena of both the natural and moral worlds as parts of one system and subserving to one end. It is grounded on the recognition of two grand principles, *viz.* that every thing created must have a creator, and that a combination of means, however seemingly opposed to each other, conspiring to one end, implies one supreme intelligence. We are however prepared to confess that the history of the religion of the Hindus specially favours neither the former nor the latter view, but partially supports both. Hinduism commenced in Sabeism or elemental worship, progressed to theism, and culminated in a debasing and demoralizing idolatry. It is therefore not always safe to assert that those are the most ancient religions, which are the most gross and absurd in their superstitions, and those the most recent, which are the simplest in their belief. The history of Hinduism is not one of steady and unbroken progression in the true sense of the word. But on the other hand it has not stood still, but passed through many stages of development.

In tracing the history of Hinduism, it must be remembered that the features of the external world, or what Buckle calls the physical aspects of nature, have in India, exercised a great influence in moulding the religion of the country. While in England, external nature is small and feeble, in India she is great and terrific. This difference has naturally moulded the minds of the two races, and produced corresponding differences in their mental constitutions. The Englishman has been encouraged

and taught to subordinate his imagination to his understanding. The Hindu has been intimidated, his imagination aroused, and his understanding dwarfed. The former has learnt to conquer nature, the latter has succumbed to her. In the vastness and power which are predicated of Agni and Indra, Vayu and Mitra, in the Vedic era, and of Shiva and Krishna, Doorga and Kali, in the Pooranic period, we see how the appalling aspects of the external world have filled the minds of the Hindus with the ideas of the terrible and the marvellous. In no country in Asia are the force and majesty of nature so powerfully exhibited as in India. Her impassable forests, her luxuriant vegetation, abounding in gigantic creepers and stupendous *ficuses*, her vast rivers traversing the length and breadth of the country, and her cloud-capped mountains, the fabled abode of Rishis and Devatas, have from time immemorial excited in the Hindu mind ideas of the vague and uncontrollable, the undefined and the undefinable, the marvellous and the miraculous. Contrasting himself with these features of the external world, the diminutive Hindu is oppressed and bewildered by their majestic and imposing grandeur on the one hand, and his own insignificance and inferiority on the other. His mind instead of enquiring into and analyzing the appearances and phenomena of nature refers them to supernatural causes. Unable to generalize those phenomena and looking only on isolated facts, he became first a worshipper of the elements, and then of heroes. We therefore believe that the Hindu superstition has arisen from a timid and torpid state of mind, which is naturally induced by the appalling appearances of nature. The imagination having been aroused, the understanding was proportionately weakened; human power having failed, superhuman power was invoked.

But notwithstanding the unfavourable influence exercised by the aspects of nature on the Hindu mind, it has always had a peculiar aptitude for contemplation, it has delighted from time immemorial in subtle and metaphysical disquisitions on the nature of God, of life and the universe, its conjectures were gradually matured into dogmas, and the dogmas ripened into systems.

The Vedas are the earliest and sublimest machinery set in motion by the Hindu intellect.

They portray the first yearning of the Aryan mind in India to rise from the creation to the Creator, and give us an insight into the great schism which divided the Hindu from the Iranian Aryan. Working upon them, Monsieur Flotard has traced with great tact and ingenuity the primitive idea of the God-head and the celestial hierarchy which the Aryans entertained



before their migration to India and Persia. It is not our object in this article to enter into the history of the Aryan religion as it is developed in pre-Vedic times; we must refer those who take an interest in the subject to the researches of the learned author, the name of whose work heads this article.

The Vedas are, as is well known to our Oriental readers, divided into the Mantras or the devotional parts, and the Brahmanas or the ceremonial parts. Attached to the latter are the *Upanishadas* containing the expositions of the authors' minds—these are the quintessence of the Vedas, and replete with lofty speculations.

The Vedas are supposed to have been breathed out by Brahma. They are said to have been perpetuated by tradition, (and hence called *Śruti*), until they were arranged into their present order by that mythic personage, Krishna Dwaipáyana Vyása. Being the first essays of the Hindus in the department of religious and philosophical literature, it is no wonder that they should be received by them as a divine revelation.

The hymns of the Rig-Veda, professing to date from eternity, were seen by the Vedic Rishis and numbered 1028; the three other Vedas, the Yajush, Sáma, and Atharva, are a recast of the Rig, the bulk of their contents being taken in their entirety from the latter. The Yajush-Veda only prescribes a ritual and is a collation of liturgical formulæ; the invocations to the divinities are mostly borrowed from the Rig, while the few original ones refer to the purification of the paraphernalia of sacrificial rites. The Sáma Veda is another edition of the Rig,—the Hymnic portion is the same and is only arranged in a different order. The Atharva is a more recent production than the other Vedas, and does not command so much veneration as these. The Tri-Vidya or the three-fold wisdom of the ancient Hindu, refers to the three Vedas,—Rig, Yajush, and Sáma, and not to the Atharva. The Hymnic and Brahmanic parts of the Vedas relate the production of the universe, the nature and attributes of the Supreme Being, and the nature of the soul.

The Rig-Veda is the substratum of the Hindu religion. It is unquestionably the most ancient record of the institutions to which that religion gave rise. Its Mantras, which are poetical, refer only incidentally to the performance of the *yajna* and to pious and ritual acts as far as these are connected with contemporaneous events. They were not expressly compiled for any eucharistic performances, and describe other matters than religious sacrifices, such, for instance, as the magnificence of the phenomena of nature, and the strength of the passions unregulated by reason.

and judgment. They reflect the growth and development of the national life of Hindustan. They show how the Northern Aryans were settling and consolidating into a civilized and prosperous nation. But the Yajush and Sáma Veda, though a reflex of the Rig, are better adapted to religious performance than their original. The verses of the former were repeated at the sacrifices performed with the *samalatá beer*, or the fermented liquor of the *soma* plant. They corresponded in fact to the elaborate ceremonial connected with the Soma sacrifices. The verses of the Yajush Veda were likewise suited to ceremonies and intoned by priests on those occasions. These ceremonies were elaborate and lasted for weeks and months. Their performance required an army of priests, songsters, ladle-holders, and sacrificers. They constituted the national religion, and took such possession of the national mind as to blind it to the sanctity of the Rig-Veda, which was soon outstripped by that of the Yajush and Sáma—especially the former. The great Vedic Commentator of Sayaná says that the Yajur Veda is a wall, the other two are like a painting (on it.)

The Hymns of the Rig-Veda are addressed mostly to Agni and Indra, the personifications of fire and firmament. The very first *Súkta* (Hymn) declares 'I glorify Agni, the high priest of 'the sacrifice, the divine, the ministrant, who presents the oblation ' (to the gods), and is the possessor of great wealth.' Agni is invoked as the *Agra* or first of the gods, as the *Agraní* or leader of the heavenly host, and as the *Prathama Devata* or the first of the gods.

Indra is thus invoked, 'Day by day we invoke the doer of 'good works for our protection, as a good milch cow for the 'milking, (is called by the milker)' 'Drinker of the Soma juice, 'come to our (daily) rites, and drink of the libations, the satisfaction of (thee who art) the bestower of riches, is verily (the 'cause of) the gift of cattle.' Hymns are also addressed to Váyu, the Maruts or the winds, and the twin Aswini Coomars.

The sun is invoked as the celestial representative of fire, and is hymned under the different names of Mitra, Púshan, Bhaga, Vishnu, Súrya, and Sabitri.

But Agni is the chief divinity of the Vedas. He is acknowledged as the principle of animal life, and the vivifying source of vegetation.

Thus we see the Vedic pantheon to be different from the Pooranic. It recognizes no Krishna, Shiva, Doorgá or Kálí. It is not based like the later one on the Trimúrtti or combination of Brahmá the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Shiva the Destroyer. There was no place in it for the incarnations of



those divinities. The worship represented by the Hymns of the Vedas was not a deification of heroes, but the personification of the elements. It was the worship of the powers of nature, which revealed themselves to the ancient Hindu as most potent and marvellous, but it did not embody the divine into human figures. It was domestic and patriarchal, and necessitated, as we have already said, the employment of a large number of Hotris or officiating priests. It comprised besides the invocations the ceremony of Homa or of libation of ghee and *soma* juice poured on fire. The ceremony of Ashwamedha, or the sacrifice of the horse was also performed. The objects of prayer and praise, offered to the divinities, were chiefly benefits of a temporal nature, such as wealth, cattle, health, offspring, protection against enemies and evil spirits. Moral benefactions are also demanded, as expiation from sin and extrication from its effects.

This physical religion or elementalism, as it might be called, developed into the Monotheism of the Vedas, which inculcated the existence of one supreme intelligence before all. 'In the beginning,' it is said, 'this all (this universe) was in darkness.' 'He (the supreme) was alone, without a second.' 'He reflected "I am one, I will become many."'

Again the Aitaréya Aranya of the Rig-Véda says originally, 'this (universe) was indeed Soul only; nothing else whatsoever existed, active (or inactive.) He thought, "I will create worlds," thus He created these (various) worlds; water, light, mortal (beings), and waters.'

The elements came to be regarded as types and emblems of the Great Power, ruling the universe, and ceased to be considered and worshipped as independent divinities.

Hindu society was thus built upon the Vedic dispensation; the institution of caste was established, and the division of labour was recognized as one of the first principles of the Aryan confederation on the banks of the Sutlege. The Brahmans as the expounders of the Vedas were vested with the functions of legislation and administration. It was their business to interpret the Scriptures, to pronounce their decisions on cases, and to regulate by their wisdom and learning the machinery of government. Though they exercised unlimited authority as legislators, judges, and priests, yet they did not assume the functions of royalty.

The Kshetriyas or second class were appointed to defend and govern the country, but the Kshetriyas abused their powers and violated the Vedas, and oppressed the people. The Brahmans, the Vaishyas, and the Shudras, smarting under their tyranny, rose

against the governing class. They found a bold and intrepid leader in Parshurama, who declared it was his mission to exterminate the tyrants. They waged a terrible crusade against the Kshetriyas and almost rooted them out of the lands, in conformity with the resolution of their leader. The effect of this revolution was to cement the power of the Brahmuns. But to keep it within proper bounds, it was resolved that the Brahmuns should exercise only the legislative authority, and be debarred from taking any active share in the political and fiscal administration of the State. Thus freed from the cares and anxieties of office, and saved from the turmoils of the contest for riches and power, the sages of the sacerdotal class devoted themselves in the seclusion of their *ashramas* to the pursuits of philosophy and religion. Living in honourable poverty, but freely mixing with all classes and commanding their profound respect, they enjoyed ample opportunities of knowing the wants and wishes of the people. This knowledge was of infinite value to them in framing laws for the good government of the country. Central and local legislatures were established, and distinguished Brahmuns like Bhrigu and Yajnavalkya were appointed to preside over their deliberations.

The separation of the legislative from the executive functions was attended with most beneficial results. The country under this system made rapid progress in literature and philosophy as well as in the useful arts of life. This result was achieved at a time when the greater portion of the world was buried in darkness. India thus became the seat of the earliest civilization.

The efficient administration of the country, produced accumulation of national wealth, this led to leisure, and leisure to the acquisition of knowledge by other than the privileged classes. The inevitable consequence of the diffusion of knowledge was that the Vedic doctrines and institutions, which had so long marked and moulded the character of the people, were subjected to severe scrutiny. Liberties in thought and speech were assumed in broad day light which would have scandalized the Rishis of the Muntras and the Hotris of the Somayagna. Men began to entertain serious doubts as to the Vedas being inspired guides and summoned them before the bar of Reason. Agitated by conflicting views on moral and religious questions, they drifted into scepticism, and scepticism, which has been justly described as the parent of all scientific knowledge, landed them in philosophy, the growth of a mature and not infantile state of society. As the development of Hindu philosophy is intimately connected with the development of Hindu religion, the history of the latter cannot be well understood without especial reference to the former.



The Naya Dursun, evidently written during this transition state, plainly indicated the new direction which Hindu thought had taken. It was the first fruit of the emancipation of the Hindu intellect from the dogmata of the Vedic verses. It was soon followed by the Sankhya which intensified the agitation against the ancient creed. Both these Dursuns while professing to uphold the Vedas (in the same manner that Strauss and Renan, Parker and Goldstucker uphold the Bible) inculcate doctrines subversive of their fundamental tenets. They reject the ritual of the Vedas and maintain that true religion consists not in the performance of unmeaning ceremonies, but in the attainment of a knowledge of the nature and attributes of the Creator through the creation. They gave the first impulse to the free-thinkers of India, and led to an open renunciation of the Vedic way of interpreting nature.

The Nyaya aims at *Nishreyas* or final beatitude and excellence, to be attained through a through knowledge of the principles which it teaches. It enumerates sixteen topics, among which *Pramana* or evidence, and that which is to be proved, are the principal, and the rest are subsidiary and calculated to elicit the truth.

The Nyaya was supplemented by the Vaiseshika, developing the atomic theory enunciated by the former. Kanada accounts for the origin of the world by the combination of atoms in the same manner as Epicurus. He maintains the eternity of atoms and even considers soul as a substance and the substratum of qualities. *Dharma* and *Adharma*, or virtue and vice, are the qualities of the soul. They are respectively the result of performing what is enjoined or what is forbidden in the Shastras. Virtue is the peculiar cause of pleasure and vice of pain—a doctrine which foreshadows the Benthamite principle of the former, being the maximization of pleasures and the minimization of pain, and *vice versa*.

Sankhya, usually signifying numeral, must be here understood as reasoning or deliberation. The system has therefore been characterised as the discovery of soul by means of right discrimination. It aims like the Vedas at the attainment of *Mukti* or eternal beatitude consisting of a freedom from all ills. Its grand object is exemption from metempsychosis, but unlike the Vedas it insists that true knowledge alone can secure 'entire and perfect deliverance from evil.' 'It declares that temporal means for exciting pleasure or relieving mental or bodily suffering are insufficient to that end, and the spiritual resources of practical religion are imperfect, since sacrifice, the most efficacious of observances, is attended with the slaughter of animals and consequently is not innocent and pure, and the

'heavenly meed of pious acts is transitory.' The cardinal doctrine of Sankhya, that beatitude can only be attained by acquisition of perfect knowledge, strikes at the root of the Vedic doctrine of the attainment of celestial bliss by celebration of sacrifices. According to Kapila, the reputed author of Sankhya, and his followers, 'absolute prevention of all sorts of pain is 'the highest purpose of the soul.' The evils here indicated emanate from the internal and the external world, and also from the divine causes. The first is either physical or mental disease of various kinds, or the passions when unregulated by knowledge.

Auxiliary to the system of Kapila is that of Patanjala. It is usually denominated *Yoga Shastra*, and is divided into four chapters or *pada*, namely, on contemplation, on the means of attaining it, on the exercise of transcendent power, and on abstraction or spiritual insulation.

The tenets of these two schools of Sankhya are identical, except on a most important point, namely, the proof of the existence of a Supreme Being. While Patanjala recognises God, Kapila recognises only beings superior to men, but like them liable to metempsychosis. Hence the system of the former is called *Seshewara Sankhya*, and that of the latter *Nirishwara Sankhya*. According to the *Yoga Shastra*, 'Ishwara, the supreme ruler, is a soul or spirit distinct from other 'souls; unaffected by the ills with which they are beset, unconnected with good or bad deeds, and their consequences, and 'with fancies or passing thoughts. In Him is the utmost omniscience. He is the instructor of the earliest beings that have 'a beginning (the deities of mythologies); Himself infinite, unlimited by time.' But the Sankhya denies the existence of a supreme ruler of the world, maintaining that there is no proof of it.

In this state of excitement and change Sakya Muni appeared as a religious reformer. Of royal parentage, he had been nursed in the lap of luxury; but convinced of the vanity of worldly grandeur and sensual pleasures, he renounced the world and embraced the life of an ascetic. Having been trained in the Brahmanical creed, he first preached its doctrines, but he soon developed a form of faith antagonistic to it. That form was Buddhism, which soon rose up by the side of Hinduism and attained such gigantic proportions as to overshadow its ancient rival. It denied the inspiration of the Vedas and denounced caste as a monstrous evil. It was popular in its form and addressed itself to all classes. It was an outburst of religious enthusiasm which carried every thing along with it in its irresistible course. This revolution



was accelerated by the love of proselytizing, which stimulated the followers of the new creed. It was remarkable for its peacefulness and disinterestedness. It spread like wild fire. Based on the doctrine of the Unity of God, and a future state of rewards and punishments, Buddhism pointed out as its end *Nirvāna* or the attainment of perfection in the absorption of the soul into the essence of the divinity. It makes salvation dependent not upon the utterance of Mantras or performance of ceremonies, but on the practice of active virtues, of temperance and prudence, humility and self-denial.

This pure and elevated code of morality addressed itself to the best feelings of the Hindus and soon enlisted them on behalf of the creed inculcating it. It is therefore small wonder that Buddhism, originating in Central India, soon traversed the length and breadth of the continent. It penetrated into Bengal as far as the mouth of the Ganges, and extended to the uttermost limits of China and Ceylon.

It was at Buddha Gya that the founder of Buddhism rested under a peepul tree, and devoted six years to profound meditation on the mysteries of God, of life, and of nature. It was here that he is said to have successfully battled with Māra (the genius of sensualism, and the Satan of Buddhism) and accomplished the law.

Buddha Gya was considered as the holiest place on the earth, and was studded with temples and monasteries, which were resorted to by hosts of pilgrims.

In the third century before Christ Buddhism became the State religion. King Asoka was a zealous follower of its doctrines and sent Missionaries to Ceylon to propagate them. Fa Hian saw A. D. 400 to 412 numerous works of Buddhist art. He also found the kingdoms and principalities into which India was divided professing Buddhism.

While Buddhism was working its way silently and cautiously it was noticed but little; but when it conflicted with Brahminism, it became the subject of a violent attack and persecution. This accounts for the toleration and even favourable consideration it first met with from the Brahmins. Though its founder rejected the doctrines of the Vedas, yet he was elevated to the Hindoo pantheon and worshipped as an *avatar* or incarnation of the deity. But when the two religious parties were brought into collision, and it was found necessary to make a reference to cardinal principles, it could not be long before the Brahmins learned in the lore of their country, would seek to assail the Buddhists. They found their mouthpiece in *Jaimini*, who imposed on himself the task of reviving and vindicating the

authority of the Vedas. The object of his Purva or prior Mimansa is the interpretation of the original scriptures which, the Aryans had brought with them to the holy land of Aryavata. Its purpose as observed by one of his annotators is 'to determine the sense of revelation.' It is called practical or *Karma Mimansa* as contradistinguished from the theological or the *Brahma Mimansa*. It is not like the Nyaya or Sankhya, a system of philosophy, but teaches only duty. But unfortunately the duties propounded by Jaimini are not the religious or the moral or the social duties we owe to our Maker, our fellow-beings and ourselves; but they imply the performances of the sacrifices and other rites enjoined by the *Vedas*. He premises, 'now then the study of duty is to be commenced. Duty is a purpose which is inculcated by a command. Its reason must be enjoined.'

The *Mimansa* maintains the eternity of the Vedas and endeavours to prove its divine origin by arguing that no human author is remembered—an argument which is of little validity, inasmuch as any other work of human brain or human hands of which the origin and preparation could not be testified to by contemporaneous authorities might with equal reason be considered as coeval with creation.

Kumarila Bhatta zealously and successfully carried out the work commenced by Jaimini. He not only expounded the Purva Mimansa and upheld the authority of the Vedas, but practically accomplished the object for which the former work had been put forth. He proved the most determined and formidable antagonist to the Buddhists. He showed them no mercy, and gave them no quarter, but waged an exterminating crusade against them.

Vyasa, the reputed compiler of the Vedas, came forward with the *Uttara Mimansa* or the *Vedanta*, reproducing and illustrating the monotheistic doctrines of the Upanishads.

The *Vedanta* literally signifies the conclusion of the Vedas and, coupled with the Purva Mimansa, constitutes a complete system of an interpretation of the Vedic precepts and ordinances. Like the Purva the Uttara Mimansa opens by declaring its object. 'Next therefore the enquiry is concerning God.' The existence of a Supreme Being, the Creator and Director of the universe is the distinctive and all-pervading idea developed in the Vedanta. '(He is that) whence are the birth and continuance and dissolution of (this world). (He is) the source of (revelation or) holy writ.' God is described as the omnipotent, omniscient, sentient cause of the universe. He is *Anandamaya* or essentially happy. 'He is the etherial element from which all things proceed, and to which all return.'



'He is the *prana* or breath in which all things merge, into which they all rise.' 'He is the *jotish* or light which shines in heaven and in all places, high and low, everywhere throughout the world and within the human person.'

The Vedanta not only inculcates the existence of God, but also his unity. It declares that God is one and without a second, and also that God alone is entitled to worship. Again; 'it is found in the Vedas that none but the Supreme Being is to be worshipped, nothing excepting him should be adored by a wise man.'

It also teaches the immutability and spirituality of God. God is never material. He is therefore described in the Vedas, as being without any of the qualities appertaining to created being. The Vedas describe the Deity as being only spirit. The *Smriti Brahmana* declares him 'not separate from the embodied soul. He is soul, and the soul is he.'

'As milk changes to curd, and water to ice, so is *Brahma* variously transformed and diversified without aid of tools or exterior means of any sort. In like manner the spider spins his web out of his own substance, spirits assume various shapes; cranes (*valaca*) propagate without the male, and the lotus proceeds from pond to pond without organ of locomotion. That *Brahma* is entire, without parts, is no objection; he is not wholly transformed into worldly appearances. Various changes are presented to the same dreaming soul. Divers illusory shapes and disguises are assumed by the same spirit.'

The soul is an emanation from the Deity. It is 'a portion of the supreme ruler as a spark of fire. The relation is not that of master and servant, ruler and ruled, but as that of whole and part.' The soul is also compared to the waves of the ocean, and the soul of nature to the ocean itself.

Individual souls are also likened to so many reflections of the sun exhibited by vessels filled with water. This identity of the human soul with the divine spirit has been often misconstrued into Pantheism. What the Vedant means to teach is that the Deity pervades and animates all bodies. 'He framed bodies, biped and quadruped, and becoming a bird, he passed into those bodies, filling them as their informing spirit.'

Again, the Vedant distinctly declares that 'nature is not the creator of the world, not being represented so by the Vedas, for they expressly say, God has by his sight created the universe. Nature is an insensible being, she is void of sight or intention, and consequently unable to create the regular world.' The universe is not *Brahma*, but 'it springs from him, merges in him, breathes in him.'

In the following instance delivered by Angiras to Mahasala, it is not nature nor an embodied soul, but the Supreme Being who is the invisible (*adrisya*) and incomprehensible author of all created being. 'Him invisible, the wise contemplate as 'the source (or cause) of being; as the spider puts forth and 'draws in his thread, as plants spring from the earth and return 'to it, as the hair of the head and body from the living man, 'so does the universe come of the unalterable.' This does not show that the Vedanta system approaches to a confusion of the Creator and the created, or speak at all as if there were any matter co-existent with Him from eternity.

To return to Buddhism, which, itself a schism from Brahmanism, underwent several organic changes after the death of its illustrious founder; it degenerated in some quarters into blind asceticism, whilst in others it sank into downright atheism. The truth is that the standard of moral excellence prescribed in the *Tripithaka* or Buddhistic scriptures, was too elevated for poor weak humanity. The self-abnegation it enforced few could practise. The spirit was willing, but the flesh was weak. The tests for attainment of *Nirvan* were too severe. They consisted in the 'most perfect faith, most perfect virtue, and most perfect 'knowledge.' It was not enough for the Buddhists to profess a speculative belief in the *Buddha Dhurma* and *Sangha*, equivalent to the God, the law, and the prophets of the Bible. It was only by retiring from the world and contemplating God in the solitude of the cloisters, by exercising abstinence and chastity, and undergoing penances, that *Nirvan* could be attained. These conditions implied the necessity of enlisting in the church and receiving the tonsure. The consequence was that the number of clergy became immense. The accumulation of priests led as might be expected, to gross abuses and brought the creed into disrepute. Many of them, though professing to lead austere lives, fell off in practice from the rigorous system enjoined and merged into the laity. Hwan Tshang, the Chinese traveller, found them in this state at Patna in the sixth century, and describes them as 'living with the heretics 'and no better than they.'

Again Buddhism addressed itself more to the head than to the heart, it appealed more to the intellect than to the feelings. It in fact glorified and even deified the intellect; denominating the Deity as Supreme intelligence. But its actual tendency was to dwarf the intellect and cramp the understanding. While Hinduism produced a galaxy of metaphysicians and philosophers, theologians and moralists, Buddhism favoured the growth neither of literature nor philosophy.



Buddhism branched off into numerous sects; one of which, the Nikiantho or heterodox ecclesiastics, were predestinarians, and maintained that virtues and vices, moral good and evil resulted from destiny, and everything being pre-ordained, the practice of the doctrine could not save any one from his fate. Their motto was 'what is written must be accomplished.' There was another sect who believed in a first principle, and its appearance in the form of an egg, which divided into two parts developed into the sky and earth. A third class did not admit of a First Cause, but asserted that every thing was fortuitous. One sect believed in space as the principle of things, while another maintained Vayu or ether to be that principle. It was considered meritorious by several sects to undergo severe penance, such as subjecting themselves to hunger and thirst, plunging into cold streams, having the body cauterised, living on herbs, and residing in Shashá-nas or burning-places. This diversity of sentiments produced great disorders and impaired the veneration of the people for the creed and its professors.

In this stage of scepticism and corruption, Hinduism, having revived in the form of Shaivism, struck a mortal blow at Buddhism.

While Buddhism was decaying, the religion which had been brought by the Brahmuns from without had undergone great changes. The old gods of the Vedas had been superseded by the new gods of the Purans. Agni and Indra had been replaced by Shiva and Krishna. The worship of the *tri-múrtti* had been substituted for that of the unpersonified elements. Káma had been dethroned by Shakti; the celebration of the Basanta or the vernal season festival had been changed into that of Dole Jatra. The introduction of new divinities had led to the formation of new sects, each professing the exclusive adoration and maintaining the unapproachable superiority of its own *devatá*. Being enlisted in the side of different and (as they supposed) antagonistic divinities, they cherished feelings of animosity towards each other. While the *Bhagavat* asserts that those who profess the worship of *Bhava* (*Shiva*) and those who follow their doctrines are heretics and enemies of the sacred Shastras; the Pudma Purana declares—'from even looking at Vishnu, the wrath of Shiva is kindled, and from his wrath we fall assuredly into a horrible hell, let not therefore the name of Vishnu even be pronounced.' Idolatry thus begat bigotry, and bigotry hostility; while in the heat and turmoil of these sectarian conflicts the simple and innocent Vedic worship was forgotten.

The Sháivas and Vaishnavas constitute the principal sects. The Shaiva faith was inaugurated at Benares—the Oxford of

India—by Paramátmá Kalanola, who assumed the distinctive marks peculiar to it. The Vaishnava worship was instituted at Kanchi by Lakshmana Acharya. It is a modified worship of Vishnu in the character of Krishna. The Shaivas are sub-divided into numerous sub-sects, of whom the Shaivas proper wore the impression of the Linga on both arms, the Bhaktas on the forehead; while the Trisula or trident stamped on the forehead was the distinctive mark of the Rudras; these sub-sects subsequently merged into the Shaivas. Their doctrines are embodied in the Shivagita.

How far the worship of the Linga is authorized by the Hindu Scriptures is difficult to determine. Whether the Rudra of the Vedas is identical with the Shiva of the Puranas is more than doubtful; but the transcendental superiority and exclusive worship of Shiva in the form of the Phallus is inculcated in several of the Puranas. There is no doubt that it is the most ancient object of adoration of the post-Vedic era. It became the most prevalent and popular form of worship during the decadence of Buddhism. Menu invokes Shiva as Swayambhú and the chief of divinities.

The great majority of the Vedantics whilst practising the rites enjoined by their scriptures accepted Shiva as their Ishtadeva or tutelary divinity; and judging by the number of shrines dedicated to him in ancient times at Salset, Elephanta, and Ellora, and the veneration they excited, his worship must have extended far and wide.

A new impetus was given to Shaivism by Shankaracharya, who flourished in the eighth century, and who in fact remodelled the whole system of Hinduism. He commenced his labours as a religious reformer in Malabar, the place of his birth; but he was a great traveller, and roamed from place to place, invading the strongholds of Buddhism and other heterodox creeds and carrying them by storm. Shankara was not only a controversialist but a commentator and philosopher. What he contended for by word of mouth, he maintained by his writings. What he preached, he supported by the authority of the Vedas. His commentaries on the Sûtras of Vyasa and the Bhagavatgita contributed in no small degree to increase and perpetuate the influence exercised by him in person. They also did much to revive the veneration of the Hindus for their Scriptures.

Shankara was gifted with a happy diction. Whether he spoke or wrote, whether he thundered against heterodoxy or expounded the Vaidic doctrines, there seemed to flow from him the very words which were most suitable. He possessed the faculty of drawing men along with him. He was



eminently persuasive, and his arguments had strength to bring men to his new doctrines. His was a masculine mind, which by its mere impact conquered all opposition. He largely mixes with the history of Hinduism. His pen and tongue were real engines of power, and influenced important events in its annals.

The system he taught was substantially the Vedantic system; to which his followers the Dandis subsequently superadded the doctrines of Pátanjali in reference to *yoga*; but Shankara was not an uncompromising reformer. While he himself believed in 'a Sole Cause and Supreme Ruler of the universe' and proclaimed to his chosen disciples the doctrine of the unity of God, he considered the worship of Shiva and Vishnu as not incompatible with such doctrines. He permitted, nay inculcated, the worship of images to those whose limited understandings rendered them incapable of comprehending and adoring the Invisible Supreme Being. That Shankara himself was a theist, admits not of a moment's question, as one of his last sayings was 'O Lord, pardon me the three sins committed by me—I have, 'by contemplation clothed thee, with a shape, who art shapeless; 'I have, in praise, described thee who art indescribable, and 'I have ignored thine Omnipresence by visiting the Tirthas.' Educated as he was in a mystical and elaborate system of Hinduism, we cannot wonder at his toleration of idolatry. To overturn that system, would have probably been too much for him. Remodel it he might. In moulding and fashioning it, therefore, according to his own ideas, he accomplished the good he sought to effect and stamped the tenets he promulgated with the notes of antiquity and sanctity. The account of his labours contained in the *Shankara Vijaya*, written by his spiritual disciple Ananda Giri, displays a philanthropy not often met with in this cold and calculating age. He devoted his energies, his learning, his life, to the promulgation of what he believed to be the truth and to the extermination of what he believed to be error.

The successful polemical warfare which the Shaivas waged with the Buddhists culminated in a sanguinary strife resulting in the expulsion of the latter. They, for the most part, emigrated to more congenial climes, and those that remained became absorbed into Hinduism.

The *Rámáyuna* and *Mahábhārata*—the two great epic poems of the Hindus—speak of this religious contest. The very existence of those works show the cessation of Buddhism at a very early date, and the consequent revival of the moral, social, and political influence of Hinduism.

But the Shaivas after having overthrown Buddhism, were nearly

overthrown by the Vaishnavas. Hinduism having triumphed over foreign foes, and regained its ascendancy, was impaired by internal divisions. The Vaishnavas invaded Benares, the head-quarters of Shaivism and demolished the temple of Visheshwara. So violent became the dispute between these two rival sects, that the King of Chola, *viz.* Ranganata Krimikonda Chola, being a Shaiva, issued an edict commanding all the Brahmanas in his Raj to sign an Ekrár, acknowledging the unlimited and exclusive supremacy of Shiva. He tempted some and coerced others into acquiescence. But Rámájúnjee was neither to be bribed nor to be terrified. He was a devout worshipper of Vishnu. He had been brought up in that faith, and had written treatises in support of its doctrines. He was a travelled man and accustomed to polemical warfare. He had visited several parts of India and carried on successful controversies with the followers of Shaivism and other creeds. He had even dispossessed Shaivas of several Mandirs or shrines and pressed them into the service of Vishnu.

Now this veteran Vaishnava refused point blank to acknowledge the supremacy of Shiva. The wrath of the king knew no bounds. He gave orders to seize and throw him into a dungeon. But Rámájúnjee escaped the persecution, and took refuge in Mysore, whither his fame had already preceded him. The Raja Velata Roy accorded him a warm reception, listened patiently to the doctrines of the refugee, and became a convert, assuming the title of Vishnubardhana.

Rámájúnjee resided twelve years in Mysore; but on the death of Krimikonda he returned to Chola. He inculcated the worship of Vishnu and his consort Lakshmi, and their incarnations Rama and Sita, Krishna and Rukini. He taught that Vishnu was Brahma and the Great First Cause. He denied the Vedantic doctrine—that the Deity is without form or quality, and maintained that he was endowed with all good qualities and possessed a two-fold form; Paramata, the supreme spirit, and the gross one—the effect, the universe or matter. Rámájúnjee founded seven hundred *muths* or monasteries, and established seventeen Goorooships amongst his disciples. He died as the head of the most ancient and respectable sect of Vaishnavas by name *Sri Sampradya*, with the rise of which originated the custom of erecting *Thakurgurus* in the upper stories of private dwelling houses, and setting up there the Shalagram stones, and stone and metal images of Krishna and Radha.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century Ramanund, a member of the Rámájúnjee or Srisampradya sect, seceded from



it, and founded another sect called after his name. The cause of his secession was an indignity to which he had been subjected by his brethren. He had travelled in various parts of India and been brought into familiar contact with different castes. When he returned to the *Mat* or residence of his Gooroo, his fellow-sectarians declared their conviction that, as in the course of his travels he must have partaken of food with other people, and thereby violated one of the fundamental tenets of their creed, he had become a *mlecha*, and must be therefore excommunicated. Deeply wounded by this social ostracism, he retired from the *Sampradya* and founded a sect of his own at Benares. This fact shows how moral and religious reforms are sometimes owing to the individual unhappiness, regret, and disappointments of this man or the other, what battles are waged with superstition, victories won over prejudice, elevated thoughts given utterance to in stirring words, and work of every sort performed, by the pang of sorrow, the sense of unmerited disgrace, and the sickness of disappointment. The principles of Ramanund were more liberal than those of Rámáunjee. He declared his mission was to emancipate his followers from the shackles of caste. In special reference to it he gave his followers the denomination of an *Avadhada* or *emancipated*. The Ramanundeas accordingly observe no particular restriction regarding eating and drinking, and the clergy and even many lay members of the sects eat and drink together without regard to tribe and caste.

The Buddhists were the first to ignore the distinctions of castes and proclaim the equality of all men. Ramanund revived the anti-caste movement which had died out, and maintained that the restraints of regimen and ablution were no part of true religion.

Rámáunjee had preached for Brahmins and written for Brahmins. Ramanund addressed himself to men of all castes and invited them to enter his fold. He taught there was no difference between Bhagwan and Bhukta, the deity and his devout worshipper. He explained that as Bhagwan had appeared as a *Muthso Avatar* and a *Barokow Avatar*, so the Bhukta may be born a Chamar or a Moochee. We accordingly find among his celebrated spiritual disciples Kubeer the Weaver, Raeda the Chamar, Dhona the Jat, and Sena the Barber. These tenets are a vigorous encroachment on orthodox Hinduism, and it is not to be wondered at that the expositions of his system by his followers should be written not in the Sanskrit, intelligible to the learned few, but in the provincial vernacular, level to the understanding of the many.

The Ramanundeas can boast of several powerful writers, such as Toolsheedass, Joydeva, and Nabhagi, the author of *Bhaktamalla* and a *Dome* by caste. The stanzas of Toolsheedass are very telling and have exercised a more powerful influence on the Hindoo mind than many a pretentious Sanskrit work. The mellifluous style of Gita Govind shows Joydeva to be a writer of more than ordinary powers. The *Bhaktamalla* contains an elaborate exposition of the doctrines of the Ramanundeas.

The reform inaugurated by Ramanund received fresh impulse from Kubeer his most celebrated disciple. Kubeer had passed his life under the guidance of Ramanund. To have been in the close presence of that remarkable man, to have toiled at the same *Shamaj*, and to have engaged in religious labours under his auspices; all this had enabled him to earn a wealth of experience by which he well knew how to benefit. With a moral courage rarely to be met with among Hindoo Reformers, he denounced the whole system of Hindoo idolatry. He repudiated the doctrines of the *Shastras* and set Brahmanical authority at naught. He assailed not only the creed of his countrymen, but the Koran of his conquerors. His preachings and writings were addressed not only to the Hindoos but Mahomedans, and produced electric effect. He exposed with merciless but impartial severity the pretensions of the Brahmins and the Mollahs. He spoke with luminous force, and produced a profound impression. He had a large following. His disciples loved him as a father while living, and fenced him round with divine honours when dead. Kubeer is supposed to be an incarnate deity. He was born of a virgin and drowned in a tank; he was found floating (like another Moses) by Nema, the wife of a Tantee or weaver, who took up and nursed the child.

The Kubeer Punthees, or the followers of Kubeer, do not profess to pay exclusive adoration to any divinity, or to observe the superstitious rites and usages prevalent around them. The lay members of the fraternity conform only outwardly to some of those rites, but the clergy abstain from them and pay their homage to the invisible Kubeer. They use no mantras, but chant hymns in praise of the object of their worship. They believe in one God, the creator of the world, but unlike the Vedantist they clothe him with a form. They maintain that this shape is composed of five elements of matter, and that his mental attributes are omnipotence and perfect purity. Their moral code enjoins humanity and truth as the cardinal virtues.

The following extract from *Vijick*, the text book of the Kubeer Punthees, shows the theistical and anti-ascetical character of their doctrine:—



' To Ali and Rama we owe our existence, and should, therefore, show similar tenderness to all that live : of what avail is it to shave your head, prostrate yourself on the ground, or immerse your body in the stream, whilst you shed blood, you call yourself pure, and boast of virtues that you never display : of what benefit is cleaning your mouth, counting your beads, performing ablution, and bowing yourself in temples, when, whilst you mutter your prayers, or journey to *Mecca* and *Medina*, deceitfulness is in your heart. The Hindu fasts every eleventh day, the Mussulman during the Ramazan. Who formed the remaining months and days, that you should venerate but one ? If the Creator dwell in tabernacles, whose residence is the universe ? Who has beheld *Rama* seated amongst images, or found him at the shrine to which the pilgrim has directed his steps ? The city of *Hari* is to the east ; that of *Ali* to the west ; but explore your own heart, for there are both *Rama* and *Karim*. Who talks of the lies of the *Veds* and *Tols* ? those who understand not their essence. Behold but one in all things, it is the second that leads you astray. Every man and woman that has ever been born is of the same nature with yourself. *He*, whose is the world, and whose are the children of *Ali* and *Rama*, he is my *Guru*, he is my *Pir*.'

*Kubeer-Punthism* was very widely diffused. Its direct and indirect effects were very powerful. It gave rise to the *Punjabees* faith, of which the founder *Nanuck* borrowed the doctrines of *Kubeer* and adopted them as the substratum of his teaching.

The spirit of innovation was at last caught in Bengal. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there rose at *Nuddeah*—the *Benares* of lower India—a Brahmin to preach a new doctrine. That doctrine was the efficacy of *Bhakti* or faith as contra-distinguished from works. It was an innovation on the Vedic system which inculcates specific religious duties, the performance of ceremonies and practice of acts of self-denial, but the fervent and absorbing devotion of *Krishna* dispensed according to *Chaitana* with the necessity of all duties, ceremonies, and acts. This Bengalee reformer taught that all men are capable of participating in the sentiments of faith and devotion, and that the members of all *Jats* or castes become pure by such sentiments. He maintained the pre-eminence of faith over caste. The mercy of God was boundless and not circumscribed by the restrictions of tribe and family. He declares that '*Krishna* was *Paramatma* or the Supreme Spirit prior to all world, and both the cause and substance of creation : in his capacity of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, he is *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Shiva*, and in the endless visions of his substance or energy he is all that ever was

'or ever will be: besides these manifestations of himself he has 'for various purposes assumed specific shapes as Avataras or 'descents.'

He preached that 'the *Chandala*, whose impurity is consumed 'by the chastening fire of holy faith, is to be revered by the 'wise, and not the unfeeling expounder of the *Veda*.' Again, 'The 'teacher of the four Vedas is not my disciple. The faithful *Chandala* enjoys my friendship, to him be given and from him be received; let him be revered even as I am revered.' Throughout his career he taught, what another and a far greater religious Reformer had taught, that 'not that which goeth into 'the mouth, defileth a man, but that which cometh out of the 'mouth, this defileth a man.' The text-book from which he delivered his precepts and which in fact moulded his destiny was the *Sreemut Bhagbut*. It was his Bible; but he interpreted it differently from the bulk of Vaishnavies. He viewed the flirtations of *Krishna* with the *Gopeenees* in a Platonic light, and in fact founded his doctrine of *Bhakti* on them. The god of Chaitanya was nominally the sable *Krishna* of Brindaban, but really a higher being than that confirmed sensualist.

The union of *Krishna* with *Radha* was in his eyes like the mystical union of Christ with the church. The relation between man and God is compared to the relation between husband and wife, the carnal element being subtracted and ignored. 'There are five 'stages of faith. The first and lowest is simply contemplative, 'like that of the Rishis Sanaka and Yogendro. The second is 'servile, like that of men generally. The third is *friendly*, like the 'feeling with which Sreedama and the Paplavas regarded 'Krishna. The fourth is *maternal*, *paternal* or *filial*, like that 'of Yashoda, Devaki, &c. The fifth and highest is *amorous* 'or loving, like that of *Radha*.'

The reformatory efforts of Chaitanya were at first directed against the worship of Sakti and its concomitant ceremonies as inculcated in the *Tantras*. They were, so to speak, a reaction against this degenerate and abominable creed, which had culminated in the worst form of libertinism. The orgies celebrated under its cloak were worse than Bacchanalian. These *Tantras* purported to have emanated from *Shiva*, but were forged by some clever Pundits of Nuddea.

Vaishnaism was thus arrayed against Bhobanism. Chaitanya commenced his labours by holding meetings of his immediate friends and followers at the house of Sree Blasha in the evening. In these meetings he used to expound the life and acts of *Krishna* and sing compositions in honour of that divinity. The Tantricks, enraged at this schism, endeavoured to put it



down. One of them, Gopaul Chapaula, sent some Java flowers (*hibiscus coccinea*) and other articles sacred to Bhobanee to the house of Sree Bhasha, while Chaitanya and his friends were assembled there. The meeting ordered a *mehler* to remove the articles as emblems of impure rites. Gopaul, says the tradition, became a leper on the third day after he had insulted Krishna. He appeared before Chaitanya in his disease-stricken condition and repented of his offence. He was forgiven, renounced his former faith and embraced that of Chaitanya. His new faith made him whole. Chaitanya, having obtained the sympathies and support of a large class of men, now openly declared it was his mission to exterminate the *Tantrick* worship and establish the true Vaishnaism. He preached his doctrines in the streets and villages of Nuddea, and was accompanied by processions of *Kirtunwallahs*. While one of these processions was perambulating the bazaars and hâts, a band of *Tantricks*, headed by *Jogai* and *Madhai*, attacked and dispersed it. But *Jogai* and *Madhai* were soon struck with remorse, and from having been bitter enemies became devoted followers of Chaitanya.

In 1509 Chaitanya or Nemye as he was then called, formally renounced the world and embraced the life of an ascetic. Though of a very affectionate nature and devotedly attached to his mother, he did not hesitate to respond to the voice of his conscience which called him away from home and all that was dear and near to him. As a *sunnyasi* he shook off the obligations of society and was resolved that his energies, his time, his life, should be devoted to the fulfilment of his mission. He spent the next six years in making several pilgrimages to Brindabun and Pooree, the respective head-quarters of Krishna and Juggarnath. In the course of his perigrination he disseminated his doctrines and made numerous converts. He proceeded to *Gour*, which was then the capital of Bengal, and preached to its citizens as often as possible. He held forth on the virtues of *Hari*; insisting on faith in *Hari* as the one thing needful to salvation, he invited men of all persuasions and castes, Hindoos and Mahomedans, Brahmins and Chandals to enter his fold. On one of these occasions there were among his audience two Mahomedan brothers present, *viz.* Dabir and Kashash, both high functionaries on the staff of Syud Hoosein, the reigning Viceroy. On them the preaching of Chaitanya made a profound impression. At midnight they repaired to his lodgings, declared their deep conviction of the truths of Vaishnaism, and begged to be enlisted in its ranks. Chaitanya welcomed them, granted their prayer and said, 'Vishnu will save you, henceforth you shall be known to the world under

'the names of Rupa and Sonatun.' In taking these converts from Mahomedanism, Chaitanya evinced a moral courage unparalleled in the annals of Hinduism. Ramanundo and Kubir had taken lowcaste men before him, but they were heresiarchs. Here was a couple of *mlecchas* welcomed to orthodox Vaishnaism. Rupa and Sonatun proved eminent members of the faith they had embraced at great personal sacrifice. Their works, entitled *Nalela Mathura* and *Hari Bhaktivilasa*, are the most esteemed by the Vyragees. Chaitanya also admitted among his followers five Pathans who had encountered him on his way to Brindaban and intended to attack and plunder him, but struck by his sanctity they desisted from carrying out their hostile intentions, and were converted by his arguments.

At the end of his six years' travel, he appointed Adwata Acharya and Nitanundo, superiors of the *Vaishnobhyas* in Bengal, and Rupa and Sonatun as the heads of the Somaj at Brindaban, and he himself settled at Nilchalla, where he remained twelve years, worshipping Juggurnath with all the intensity of his nature. Besides the *Provoos* and superiors above mentioned, the Vaishnavas acknowledge Gosains as their original and chief teachers. Those Gosains are the founders of the families now existing in Bengal and Brindaban, and preying and fattening on the loaves and fishes of their followers.

Among the original Gosains was Vallabha Acharya, who was the founder of a separate order of *Vaishnavas* professing to worship Krishna as the infant Gopala. It numbers among its followers the opulent Mahajuns of Pombay and other places.

The system propounded by Chaitanya is a system of asceticism. It appeals not to the intellectual but to the emotional part of our nature. Knowledge of God is to be attained not through the process of meditation as maintained by the Vedas, or by a process of philosophising on His nature and attributes as taught by the *Dursuns*, but through the exercise of veneration and love and devotion. The heart is all in all in the Code of Chaitanya. He preached among all classes and castes that salvation was possible without a belief in books, and must be attained through *Bhakti*. With the development of this idea the name of Chaitanya must be always associated. His doctrines are an effective protest against the exclusiveness of Hinduism as the dominant and national religion. He maintained the pre-eminence of faith over caste, and taught that the mercy of God regards neither tribe nor family. He scouted like Kubir the distinctions of caste as violations of the laws of God, who intended all men should be equal and entitled to enter this kingdom. In insist-



ing on purity of thought and action he is the counterpart of the ancient Rishis who depended on meditation alone. He regarded God as essentially love, because as Goethe said of a greater reformer, 'love was the essence of his own fair inward being.'

The anti-caste movement thus inaugurated by Chaitanya in Bengal has continued with unabated vigour. It was a natural and fitting extension of the religious education of the Hindus. About sixty years ago Ramsharun Paul of Ghoseparra near Hooghly founded the sect of *Kartavijas*, or worshippers of the Creator. They do not acknowledge the distinctions of caste, especially when engaged in their religious ceremonies. They consist of men and women of all castes who eat together in private twice a year. The following is their *Mun'ra* :—

'Oh ! sinless Lord—Oh ! great Lord, at thy pleasure I go and return, not a moment am I without thee, I am even with thee ; save, Oh ! great Lord.'

We have now arrived at a period which was to witness a re-awakening of the national mind from its torpor, not by the isolated and fitful efforts of religious enthusiasts, but by the systematic and well regulated agency of education.

In the year 1815, a few earnest friends, among whom were David Hare and William Adams, met at the garden-house of Rammohun Roy at Manicktolla to discuss the most feasible means of improving and elevating the Hindu mind. David Hare proposed the establishment of a College for imparting a sound and liberal education in English to the Hindu youth ; Rammohun Roy, while fully recognising the importance of such an education, contended for some special agency for giving moral and religious instruction to his countrymen. He therefore suggested the establishment of religious meetings for the purpose of teaching the monotheistic tenets of the Vedas and undermining the idolatrous creed of the masses. Both these schemes were carried into effect.

The *Mahabidyalaya*, or great seat of learning as the Hindu College was originally called, was inaugurated in 1816. Fostered by the Government it became a mighty instrument for improving and elevating the Hindus. The first batch of students it produced proved a band of energetic youthful reformers. They had read and reflected, acquired knowledge, accumulated and compared facts, and practised generalization. They had risen above the prejudices of the nursery. They had imbibed new ideas. The truths of history and geography had taught them the falsity of the faith in which they had been brought up. They therefore rose to summon Hinduism at the bar of reason. They knew and felt that what was morally wrong could not be

theologically right. The foundations of the fabric thus opened and examined, and its outworks thus sapped, it seemed to be tottering to its fall.

Such was the state of things in 1830 when Rammohun Roy established the Brahmo Sabha. Gifted with rare powers of application and generalization and animated by a sincere desire to know and proclaim the truth, he had studied the Bible, the Koran, and the Vedas. He had arrived at the conclusion that the Vedas inculcated pure monotheism, and that the idolatry practised by his countrymen was a corruption of the ancient faith. He had publicly renounced that idolatry, and declared his mission to destroy it and to resuscitate the primitive and rational religion of the Vedas. This story was carried to the Boitukhanas of the Baboos and the shops of the moodies, and it was soon known to people in the mofussil. Hindu Calcutta was in a ferment. Each orthodox Hindu who heard of the apostacy of Rammohun Roy, trembled at the thought of the imminent danger it threatened to his religion. His following had been at first very small. But he had persevered with characteristic zeal and single-heartedness. He had translated several of the Upanishads into elegant Bengalee. He had published a Bengala pamphlet in the same language against Hindu idolatry in the name of one of his followers. He had held discussions on religious subjects with erudite Pandits. He had converted to his faith Mr. William Adams and a few other European and Native friends. These friends used to meet at first at the Library of the *Bengal Hurkari* Press on Sundays, when Mr. Adams officiated as minister. But Rammohun Roy now thought that the time was come for establishing a society or association as a present rallying point for his fellow-religionists, and a nucleus of a future grand national church. The Brahmo Somaj was intended by its founder to be a place of meeting open to men of all castes and persuasions. Its object is declared in unmistakeable language in the Trust Deed of the premises in which it was inaugurated, as the following extract from that document will show :—

'The said messuage or building, land, tenements, hereditaments, and premises with their appurtenances to be used, occupied, enjoyed, applied, and appropriated as and for a place of public meeting of all sects and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious, and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the eternal, unsearchable, and immutable Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the universe, but not under or by any other name, designation, or title peculiarly used for and



' applied to any particular being or beings by any man or set of men whatsoever, and that no graven image, statue, or sculpture, carving, painting, picture, portrait, or the likeness of any thing, shall be admitted within the said message, building, land, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, \* \* \* that in conducting the said worship and adoration no object, animate or inanimate, that has been, or is, or shall hereafter become or be recognised as an object of worship by any man or set of men shall be reviled or slightly or contemptuously spoken of or alluded to either in preaching, praying, or in the hymns or other mode of worship that may be delivered or used in the said message or building, and that no sermon, preaching, discourse, prayer, or hymn be delivered, made, or used in such worship, but such as have a tendency to the promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue, and the strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds.'

The Brahmo Somaj, like Hinduism itself, has undergone changes. Its history may be divided into two distinct periods. During the first the Vedas constituted the basis of its faith. They were regarded as the revelation—the divine and infallible guide in matters of religion. The monotheistic doctrines inculcated in the Upanishads and the Vedant were the fountain head of Brahmoism. They were expounded every Wednesday evening in the hall of the Sobha. Treatises illustrating them in the popular vernacular were written and circulated.

A year after the establishment of the Sobha, its founder departed for England, where he died in the following year. After the death of Rammohun Roy the proceedings of the Sobha were conducted for eight years according to the forms laid down by him by Ramchunder Vidyabagish. During this period however, the Sobha languished, because the noble zeal which Rammohun Roy had brought to bear on it was wanting. Ramchunder Vidyabagish was a very respectable and erudite Pandit. His scholastic attainments were indeed of a high order. His translations of the Upanishads are models of classical Bengalee, but he was not original, and drew his inspiration from Rammohun Roy, whose intellect and breadth of view he lacked.

In 1839 the cause of the Brahmos acquired fresh impulse from the adhesion of Baboo Debendronauth Tagore. Though cradled in luxury and destined by his father to occupy a high position both as a zemindar and a merchant, he felt that there was that in man which the things of this world could not altogether satisfy, which longed after eternity and after Him who was the author of time and eternity. He accordingly

resolved to follow in the footsteps of Rammohun Roy. On the 6th October 1839 the Tutwabodhiny Sobha was established in the house of Baboo Dwarkanauth Tagore 'by a select body 'of ten friends,' of whom Baboo Debendronauth was the animating spirit. The avowed object of the Sobha was 'to sustain the labours 'of the late Raja Rammohun Roy by introducing gradually 'among the natives that monotheistical system of divine worship 'which is to be found inculcated in their original sacred writings 'in contradistinction to the multifarious perversions which they 'have undergone in course of time.' The means employed for attaining this object was the establishment of a Press and Periodical as well as of Schools and Patshallas. The Tutwabodhiny Sobha sent four Pandits to Benares, to be indoctrinated in the Vedas, and thereby enabled to expound them to the Brahmos. The *Patrica* was not set on foot till 1843. As the acknowledged organ of the Sobha the *Tutwabodhiny Patrica* came out month after month with elaborate expositions of the creed of the Brahmos, and also vindicated it from the attacks of missionaries. These expository and vindictory articles were written in elegant Bengalee, and both the manner and matter of the editor, Baboo Ukhoycoomar Dutt, attracted great attention and ensured for the periodical a wide circulation. Whatever may be the difference of opinion in regard to the *Tutwabodhiny Patrica* as a theological organ, there can be none as to the valuable services rendered by it to vernacular literature. It has contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the improvement of the Bengalee language. It has fashioned and moulded it, and adapted it as a medium for the expression of noble and elevated ideas. Both in the columns of the *Patrica* and at the meetings of the Brahmos the doctrines preached were those of the Vedas. As late as 1845 the *Patrica* declared that 'the Vedas were the sole 'foundation of their belief,' and that the truths of all other Shasters must be judged of according to their agreement with them. In the following year Baboo Debendronauth Tagore, as president of the Tutwabodhiny Sobha, thus wrote to the *Englishman*, 'We consider the Vedas and the Vedas alone as the standard of 'our faith.'

Here ends the first period of the history of the Brahmo movement. Before proceeding with the second we desire to make a few remarks in explanation of its Vedantic character and tendency, but we would have it distinctly understood that in what we now say we are not the apologists but the exponents of the Brahmos.

Whether Rammohun Roy believed in the Vedas as revelation is very doubtful. We are inclined to think he was an



eclectic philosopher and a theo-philanthropist. He believed in a Great and Living God and in His power, wisdom, and goodness, and what he believed he found or thought he found in the Vedas. He endeavoured to engraft on them a kind of universal unitarianism. He laboured to destroy the idolatry of the Poorans and to revive the monotheistic doctrines of the Vedas.

The followers of Rammohun Roy, comprising the members of the Brahmo and Tutwabodhini Societies, have been reproached with Pantheism and Atheism. They have been denounced as disbelievers in a personal God. Those who prefer this charge declare that the Vedas confound the Creator with the creation, and that the Brahmos by believing according to their so-called scriptures that the universe is of the same substance with God, and the soul is identical with the Supreme Being, evidently exalt the world, and grossly degrade and absolutely sink the divinity in it. But we maintain the contrary. Though fully aware of the weak points of the Vedas and Upanishads, yet we are convinced the system inculcated in them is neither Pantheism nor Materialism. It neither degrades God nor elevates the Universe. Stripped of cosmogonic puerilities which do not affect its fundamental doctrines, it teaches not that there is no personal God, but that the human mind however cultivated is incapable of understanding Him and realising His attributes.

Vedantism does not oppose the Creator to the creation, but makes him the unity, the only substance. Spinozism, which closely resembles Vedantism, has been subjected to a similar charge, and what the author and vindicator of it say is applicable to our point. 'Our happiness and freedom consist in constant and eternal love of God \* \* \* the more man comprehends the nature of God and loves God, the less he is under the influence of evil passions, and the less he fears death.' Referring to this passage Hegel in his Philosophy of History observes:—'Spinoza demands to this end that man should acquire the true mode of comprehension; he wants him to view every thing *sub specie æterni*, in absolutely adequate notions, *viz.* in God. Thus Spinozism is 'Akosmism. There are no morals more elevated than those expounded by Spinoza; for he wants human action to be regulated 'merely by divine truth.' According to the Vedant 'Brahma is incomprehensible and beyond thought.' The Vedas would fain describe the overwhelming greatness and all-pervading goodness of God, but that they oppress and bewilder the human intellect. And is it not really so? can the finite understand

the infinite? Can the limited faculties of man grasp what is illimitable and inconceivable? The epithets of *Nirakar* or formless, and *Nirgoon* or void of qualities, predicated by the Vedant of the Supreme Being, do not mean that He is a nonentity, but that human speech is utterly inadequate to a conception and expression of the divine nature. He is 'pure entity, pure thought, and pure felicity,' when defined by a negative. Brahmo is incorporeal, immaterial, invisible, unborn, uncreated, without beginning or end; he is illimitable, inscrutable, inappreciable by the senses, inapprehensible by the understanding, at least until that is freed from the film of mortal blindness; he is devoid of all attributes, or has that only of perfect purity; he is unaffected by emotions; he is perfect tranquillity, and is susceptible, therefore of no interest in the acts of man or the administration of the affairs of the universe. That this description of the deity falls short of the reality and conveys only vague, but far from approximate ideas, is repeatedly acknowledged by the Vedant, for its author declares that the knowledge of the Supreme Being is not within the boundary of comprehension, that what and who he is cannot be explained. It is not therefore not the faults of the Brahmos nor of the Vedas that they have not achieved a moral impossibility. The Vedant describes the Supreme Being not only by negatives, but asserts his positive attributes 'God is a Spirit,' the Supreme Spirit; 'he is knowledge; he is purity, he is happiness; he sees all, he hears all, he moves whithersoever he will, he takes whatsoever he will, although he has neither eyes, nor ears, nor feet, nor hands; he is omniscient, omnipresent, almighty; he is the maker of all things, and the director and governor of the world, not, however, in his own person, but through the instrumentality of agents, whom he has created for the purpose.' It is therefore manifest that the Brahmos during this phase of their faith believed in a personal God and in his attributes. The grand mistake they made was in setting up the Vedas as revelation. This mistake was however confined to their circle. Outside that circle it was recognized as palpable and egregious. In 1843—the same year which witnessed the issue of the *Tutwabodhini Patrica*—a religious Society—was established on a wider basis. The *Hindu Theophilanthropic Society* was inaugurated on the 10th February 1843, by a few friends assembled for the purpose of considering the best means for promoting the moral and religious elevation of their countrymen. In the preface to the discourses read at the meetings of this Society its object is thus enunciated; 'The Society aims at the extermination of Hindu idolatry, and the dissemination of sound and enlightened views of



'the Supreme Being—of the unseen and future world—of truth, of happiness, and final beatitude. It proposes to teach the Hindus to worship God in *spirit* and in *truth*, and to enforce those moral and most sacred duties which they owe to their Maker, to their fellow-beings, and to themselves.' The Society held monthly meetings, at which discourses in English and Bengalee were delivered. The subjects embraced by the discourses related to the nature and attributes of the deity and to general principles in morals and religion. The other means adopted by the Society for the attainment of its object were the preparation and publication of Bengalee tracts on moral and religious subjects and the reprinting of Sanscrit and Bengalee works illustrating the same. The monthly meetings were attended and addressed by earnest and representative men of different classes, such as Dr. Duff, the Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Baboo Ukhoycoomar Dutt, Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose, Baboo Peary Chund Mitter, and the late Baboo Isser Chunder Goopto. The nature and aims of the institution are thus explained at length in the inaugural discourse of the Founder; 'The Society aims at the extermination of Hindu idolatry and the dissemination of sound and elevated views of God, Futurity, Truth, and Happiness. Though it is established for the purpose of promoting moral and religious culture irrespective of any revealed form, and only by the study of the duties and destinies of man as *revealed* by his constitution and of the power, wisdom, and goodness of God as manifested in nature, still its basis is broad and unexceptionable enough to admit the cordial co-operation of every good man, no matter to what creed he may belong. The pious and benevolent of every religion cannot but be deeply interested in its success. At present, its members act according to the light which they possess. If new light breaks in upon them, they must of course be prepared to follow it.

'The existence of God is the first dogma of the Hindu Theophilanthropist, and the immortality of the soul is the second. The dogmas of the Hindu Theophilanthropist are those upon which all sects, Christian, Hindu, Mahomedan, Chinese, are agreed, and the name they have taken expresses the double end of all religionists that of leading, namely, to love towards God and men.'

We return to the Brahma Sabha, which has now arrived at the second period of its history. We have before had occasion to mention of four Pandits being sent to Benares by the *Tatwabodhini Sabha* to be thoroughly initiated in the doctrines of the Vedas, in order that they might disseminate them here. The

Pandits most conscientiously fulfilled the first part of their mission. They ransacked the Vedic manuscripts and held discussions with the Vedantists of Benares. The result of these investigations as might reasonably be expected was fatal to the divine origin of the Vedas. They were followed by fresh investigations by Baboo Debendronath Tagore which led to the same result. The conclusion at which the President of the *Sobha* arrived after this honest and searching enquiry into the infallibility of the Vedas was that they were not what they professed to be, and should be renounced as an unerring guide in religious matters. The Brahmos accepted this conclusion and rested their faith on the truths of Natural Religion. Hear how this part of their history is told by their chief preacher, Baboo Kesub Chunder Sen :—

‘ The return of the Pundits and his, (Debendernauth Tagore’s) subsequent investigations with their aid quite convinced him of the errors of the Vedic system. There was a terrible strife—the strife of conscience against associations of mind and place; duty against prepossessions; truth against cherished convictions. But conscience triumphed over all; the Veds were thrown overboard by Baboo Debendronath Tagore; and the Brahmo Somaj bade farewell to Vedautism. Gentle- men, would you call this fluctuation? or would you not rather say, that this indeed is a triumph of conscience, and conscience alone—a victory over error and darkness effected by candid inquiry and a love of truth. Would you tauntingly speak of it as the waverings of an *unprincipled* man? Would you point at it the finger of ridicule? Would you not rather “admire the honesty and sincerity” of the Somaj for *conscientiously* changing its opinion? What is there to laugh at in this plain truth: the Brahmos at one time believed in the Veds as their infallible, unerring guide in religious matters, and now, having found out their mistake, believe in nothing but the truths of Natural Religion? Gentle- men, I would have satisfied myself with a few passing remarks only on this untenable charge of fluctuation, did I not think it proper to lay bare what the Lecturer would fain wish were permitted to lie underneath the surface;—I mean the motive which brought about the change in the basis of the creed of the Somaj, and the progressive character of that change. Gentlemen, I have shown clearly I hope, that it was conscience that sent the Brahmo Somaj one further step up the hill of progress. Vedantic Brahmoism was a conscientious renunciation of Pu- ranic idolatry, and intuitional Brahmoism a conscientious overthrow of the infallible authority of the Veds. In the



' history of the Brahmo Somaj you thus behold Progress and Principle. You will also admit, I hope, from what I have said in regard to the circumstances which brought about the fall of Vedantism, that this change was due more to the closer study of the Veds themselves by Baboo Debendronath Tagore than to the influences of the anti-Christian works of occidental Deists, as has been said; for though the Veds were no longer regarded as the basis of Brahmoism, and their errors and absurdities were abjured, the good things in the superstructure were retained and continue to this day: and the *Brahma Dharma* book of the present day contains the truths of the Vedanta with natural reason for their basis.'

In regard to the philosophy of intuition the present basis of the Brahmo faith, Baboo Kesub Chunder Sen thus expounds the views of his co-religionists:—

' This much I desire to assert, that in some form, under some name, and to some extent, intuition has been admitted to be a fact of consciousness by almost all distinguished thinkers. Different names have been given to it, such as spontaneous reason, practical reason, *à priori* cognitions, common sense, first truths, corresponding with the particular characteristics of intuition specially recognised by the philosophers who gave those names, such as spontaneity, catholicity, originality, &c. But such differences of opinion in regard to name are immaterial so long as the existence of intuition is admitted. Nor would it at all affect the argument to say, that those whose testimonies we cite were Christians, and cannot be supposed to have said anything in support of our religion.' Again: 'The doctrine of common sense is therefore not only the true philosophy but catholic philosophy; it is not the doctrine of a peculiar sect but the unity of philosophic truths, a code of universal beliefs supported by the testimony of consciousness, \* \*. To say that our Church rests upon intuition is to say that it rests upon an immovable rock which the wind of opinion cannot check, the blast of controversy cannot demolish.'

We do not deprecate this organic change in the faith of the Brahmos as an irrational fluctuation, but hail it as an auspicious omen of good things to come. We admire the honesty and sincerity of the Sobha 'for conscientiously changing its opinion.' Who shall blame the Brahmos for acting according to the light which they possess? If new light breaks in upon them, they would we believe be prepared to follow it.

The transition from Vedantism to natural religion took place in 1850 and gave new life to the Tutwabodhiniy Sobha, articles of faith being drawn up, and persons subscribing to them enrolled

among Brahmos. From this period date the organisation of the Brahmo community and their efforts to consummate the social reformation of their country.

In 1860 the Tutwabodhini Sabha was amalgamated with the Brahmo Sabha. By this arrangement the reformatory efforts of the two cognate bodies were concentrated and utilized. The Somaj since this amalgamation has made considerable progress. A new Brahmo School has been established. The system of delivering lectures in English has been inaugurated. Reformed ceremonies on marriage and other important events of social and domestic life have been enjoined. Branch Somajes have been established in several parts of Bengal, in Allahabad, Lahore, Bareilly, Lucknow, and Madras. Their number at present is upwards of forty. The aggregate number of members on the roll of the parent and the branch Somajes is nearly two thousand. The funds of the body are in a healthy condition. The receipts amounted last year to Rupees 9,208, and the disbursements to Rs. 8,900.

It is not our province to discuss the truth or falsity of the doctrines held by the Brahmos. It is only necessary to indicate them. Brahmos recognise no special or book revelation. They hold a record of religious truth revealed by God to man to be a moral impossibility. They fall back for such truth on the book of nature. They believe that the evidence of the existence and attributes of the Deity are written in the material as well as the moral world, and in characters as legible as those of a native tongue. They regard the intuitions of the human mind as the special source of religious knowledge.

Religion is certainly coeval with the human race, and emanates from an eternal and deep-seated principle in us. It is a necessity of human nature, and not the result of an abnormal condition of life. Impressed deeply with the sense of the power and wisdom and goodness of God, the Brahmos believe that human beings are among the instruments with which He operates to work out ends befitting his nature. They deny Original Sin or Depravity, Redemption, Resurrection, and Incarnation. Though they recognise no inspired mediator or saviour, yet they believe that whenever a person with such claims has appeared, his inspiration has been the result of the beneficent impulse communicated by the Great Beneficence in proportion as the lessons He has inculcated have been wise and effective. The holders of Brahmoism believe that the great business of their faith is to rest on the greatness and goodness of God. They also believe that the great first Cause of the universe is a wholly good, just, and benificent Being, free and



distinct from his works. They believe him to be altogether beautiful, and altogether great, and altogether good. They do not think it possible for finite creatures to form an adequate conception of the infinite, but 'inasmuch as they are 'his handiwork and made after his image, they may feel conscious 'of him in their hearts in the direction at which his infinitude 'borders on humanity.' The doctrines thus evolved from a careful observation of eternal and internal nature constitute a pure and elevated creed according to which the Brahmos believe God 'is our Creator and only Dispenser of salvation.' 'It 'is from Him and Him alone we hope to receive the spiritual 'blessings we stand in need of. To him who is God of love, of 'truth, of salvation, Brahmoism teaches us to pray humbly and 'earnestly.' Prayer is emphatically characterized as the very pedestal on which Brahmoism rests. It 'is a Brahmo's only 'hope; his only guide in the world.' To assist the Brahmos in this duty, 'the Theist's prayer book has been recently published 'containing prayers suited to different times and emergencies.'

The Somaj meets every Wednesday evening for public worship, and the congregation assembled at the well-lighted and well-furnished hall on the Upper Chitpore road, must be an interesting spectacle to all who care for the highest welfare of the Hindus. The liturgy is very simple. The ministers seated on a marble dais read the prayers. Discourses on the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God are then delivered much in the same spirit as the Bridgewater Treatises and Paley's Natural Theology. They are generally well written and well spoken. They avoid debatable grounds and confine themselves to an exposition of the subjects they embrace. Whenever they refer to Christianity, either allusively or directly, they do so not rudely and flippantly, but courteously and reverentially. The service concludes with the singing of hymns composed chiefly by Ram-mohun Roy and Debendronauth Tagore.

Whether Brahmoism is suited to the mass of the people and affords every motive to faith and practice, may well admit of question, but there can be but one opinion that it is an immense stride beyond the prevailing Hinduism. We accept it as a great advance on the popular creed. The Brahmo Somaj now numbers many educated and enlightened natives and has grown into a great power in the Hindu society. Its ranks are recruited by the alumni of our colleges and schools, whose intellectual and moral training has landed them in that position of protest against idolatry, which Brahmoism takes as its foundation.

There are hundreds and even thousands who have ceased to

believe in Shiva and Doorga, Krishna and Radha. In the last Report on Public Instruction Mr. Woodrow mentions the remarkable fact, 'that numerous Hindus feel now so ashamed of the religion of their country as to adopt in large numbers varying forms of Brahmoism, Vedantism, Theism, Pantheism, &c. One student by race a Hindu entered himself as a Universalist. Out of the 1,114 candidates of this year, 101 young Hindus repudiated their ancestral creed, and entered themselves under one or other of the above phases of faith.' This surely is a sign of the times. It disproves the charge preferred against the system of Government education that it takes no account of the spiritual element in man. We emphatically deny that it is calculated to make only secularists. It has brought to those who have come within the range of its influence inestimable moral and religious benefits. It has taught them great truths not only respecting men, their histories, their politics, their inventions, and their discoveries, but respecting God, His attributes and His moral government. It has revealed to them the laws which the Almighty Mechanician has impressed on the world of mind as well as on the world of matter. Let us not be told that the expansion of the mind and thought which is going on around us is not accompanied by an expansion of the heart—the development of the moral and religious feelings? Nothing can be more unfair than to characterize the Government system of education, as it is characterized by certain parties as an irreligious or a non-religious system. No system can be such which leads us through nature up to nature's God. The elements of morality and religion may be conveyed independently, of any system of dogmatic theology. It is impossible to study the great writers of English without being inoculated with the pure moral precepts and the elevated ideas pervading their pages. These must touch the religious instinct in man and awaken his religious sympathies. But of the hundreds who have embraced Brahmoism, how few have evinced moral courage to exterminate social evils which are eating into the vitals of Native society. True, the Somaj in all its stages has denounced idolatry and caste, but we scarcely expected to find that its members with few honourable exceptions are in point of fact wedded to the antiquated customs of their country. It is useless for them to plead that the country is not yet ripe for social reforms; standing as they do on the vantage ground of intellectual superiority, they must be fully aware of the darkness of ignorance and superstition around them, and should undertake the task of pioneers of the national elevation.

The survey that we have taken of Hindunism, though necessarily brief and not traced with chronological precision, will



show that it has not been so immutable as is generally supposed. It does not bear any thing of that unalterable character that is ascribed to it. It has on the contrary undergone like other religions great and organic changes until it presents an aspect radically different from what it originally wore. These changes have been exhibited in the rise and progress of the several sects of which we have endeavoured to give a sketch. Of the primitive system of Vedic faith as embodied in the Rig-Veda, no other trace remains than the *Homayoga* and the purificatory ceremonies performed at the birth, marriage, and cremation. We have seen how prayer and invocation to the elements gave place to the philosophical appreciation of the divine nature. We have also seen how latitude of speculation was checked by *Bhakti*, and how the latter degenerated into a demoralizing worship. We have seen in short how the philosophical labours of the Hindus successively resulted in mysticism and idealism, and scepticism and sensualism, the sole actors, as justly observed by M. Cousin, in that intellectual arena where in all ages and amongst all nations they are in turn in the position of combatants and of sovereigns. But amidst all these mutations several influential sects, both in ancient and modern times, have inculcated pure theism, rising above the atmosphere of bigotry and superstition, and developing new lines of thought. Vyas and Sunkaracharjya, Ramanundo and Kubir, have stood forth in advance of their age, and have left on it a mark which is ineffaceable. The impress they imparted on their times has endured for centuries. The impetus which Rammohun Roy has recently given to the national mind is bearing it onward. Let us devoutly trust that with the spread of education the spirit of enquiry into religious truth will become more universal and ere long better directed. When we consider what was the state of the Hindu mind a few years ago, and contrast it with what we now see, when we remember the once dead level of ignorance and its first breaking up—how the entire national mind was dwarfed by superstition and fettered by prejudices—how it has since begun to throw off those fetters—has risen above Brahminical domination and asserted its independence—we do not despair of the cause of moral and religious reform, but feel there is ample grounds for thankfulness to the Almighty Dispenser of events.

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ART. IV.—1. *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sunnuds, relating to India and neighbouring Countries.* Compiled by C. U. Aitchison, B. C. S. Under-Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, 7 vols. Calcutta: 1862—65.

2. *Memorandum on the Records in the Foreign Department.* By J. Talboys Wheeler, Secretary to the Record Commission. Calcutta: 1864.

IT is about a century ago (1768) that the East India Company expressed the utmost concern at finding themselves involved in a Chaos of Treaties and Engagements. All their views and expectations were then confined within, that is, to the eastward of the Curumnassa; they had become perfectly alive to the value of the Bengal Provinces, for the Dewany of which they had in 1764 obtained the Firman of Shah Aulum; and when explaining to their Governors the policy which they wished to be pursued, they announced distinctly that the Dewany of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, with the possessions held in those provinces, were the utmost limits of their aim on that side of India; whilst on the Coast the protection of the Carnatic, and the possession of the Circars free from all engagements to support the Soobah of the Deccan, or even without the Circars, provided British influence could keep the French from settling in them, satisfied their aspirations on the Coromandel Coast. The bounds of their ambition on the Bombay side were the dependencies thereof, the possession of Salsette, Bassein, and the Castle of Surat, the protection of which was easily within the reach of our power since they could mutually support each other without recourse to any alliance whatever with Native States. Exceedingly jealous of the too apparent reluctance to recall the Brigade advanced to Allahabad, they pressed for its immediate withdrawal, and enjoined that when this were done, and there should be a cessation of the heavy works going on in the fortifications at Fort William, the Behar boundary was to be surveyed, and either strong lines or a fort with magazines was to be constructed, so as to afford a secure place for the Brigade on the frontier, and a depôt of stores to enable the troops to take the field at once whenever occasion required.

The occupation of Chunar by a sufficient garrison, if its cession could be obtained, entered into their outline of the general military position which it was held desirable to establish.



Most emphatically however did the Company object to passing these bounds, for fear of being led on from one acquisition to another, till the British power would find no security but in the subjection of the whole, 'which by dividing our forces would 'lose us the whole, and end in our extirpation from Hindostan.' Not content with this lugubrious prophecy, the Company were specially bent on deterring their Governments in India from entertaining the very dangerous idea that the way to preserve peace was to be the umpires of the balance of power in Hindostan, 'a principle that may involve us in every way from Delhi 'to Cape Comorin.' On the contrary it was prescribed that 'one invariable maxim ought ever to be maintained, that we 'are to avoid taking part in the political schemes of any of the 'Country Princes,'—that they were to be left to settle a balance of power among themselves; that their divisions would leave the British provinces in peace; and that engagements and alliances were as a rule to be studiously avoided. When it is remembered that ten years before, in 1758, the Court had written to their Governor at Fort William,—'We have only to add 'that if you depend upon ever having a force of two thousand 'Europeans in Bengal, as has been most strenuously desired, 'you will be certainly deceived, for if even the present situation 'of public affairs would admit of such a measure, the employing 'so great a number of ships as is requisite for so great an 'embarkation is big with a thousand difficulties too obvious to 'mention,'—it is not surprising that in 1768, when their Governor at Madras had entered into an alliance with the Soobah of the Deccan and the Mahrattas in order to depress the power of Hyder Ali, pledging Government at the same time to furnish a subsidiary force of 761 Europeans and 5,000 sepoys, besides a payment of nine lakhs of Rupees for the Circars, the Court should have viewed such proceeding with dismay, should have lectured their Governor on the policy into which he was plunging, and should sound a warning note against the Chaos of Treaties and Engagements, the vision of which was looming disagreeably upon their sight. 'Your loving friends,' as the Court styled themselves, had a keen eye to their investments and to their purely mercantile interests, and they foresaw and distinctly enunciated that no success in war could possibly compensate the losses that would arise from the tranquillity of their provinces being disturbed. It must be admitted that there was sound practical wisdom in their analysis of the policy which their Governors were originating; and that in the following extract they evinced a clear perception of the conditions under which, if such a career were embarked upon, the struggle for empire

in India would have to be waged. 'From what appears in your proceedings, we think we discern too great an aptness to confederacies or alliances with the Indian powers, on which occasion we must give it you as a general sentiment that perfidy is too much the characteristic of Indian Princes for us to rely on any security with them; but should you enter into a treaty to act in concert with them in the field, one of our principal officers is to command the whole, a pre-eminence our own security and our superior military skill will entitle us to.'

The prediction that the policy then inaugurating, and to which they demurred, would lead to the extension of our empire from Delhi to Cape Comorin has in the course of a century been fulfilled; and that the part of the prophecy foreboding a calamitous issue to such expansion of dominion failed of its accomplishment in 1857 is due to the fact that during that crisis our trust lay not in our alliances with Native Powers, the most friendly of whom were playing a waiting game, but in the stalwart courage of our British troops. Under Providence it is to a general observance of the principle thus early laid down by those sagacious old merchants that their woe-weighted prediction did not entirely come to pass, and that at the close of a century our rule extends unchallenged from the Himalayah to Cape Comorin. The chief disasters which have chequered that century occurred when the golden principle thus early delivered was departed from; so that both in our reverses and in our successes the maxim of the 'loving friends' has met with confirmation.

In the present day when 80,000 British Troops are quartered in India, the grave admonition that if in Bengal they depended on *ever* having 2,000 European troops, they would certainly be deceived, reads as curiously as does the avowal of perturbation into which the Court were thrown by the Chaos of Treaties and Engagements in 1768. A glance at the volumes published by Mr. Aitchison will show that the business of Indian Treaty-making was then in its infancy, and that it was early in the day to take fright at the activity of our eastern diplomacy. Still, here again the 'loving friends' had good ground for their apprehensions, for at that period the trade of Treaty-making proved so lucrative, that there was a tempting premium on the extension of our political relations with such Native Chiefs or States as could afford to pay; and as men were in those days fully as anxious to return to England as they are now, without being quite as scrupulous as to the means by which this end was to be attained, such passages as the following reveal that the Court had reason to dread that other than purely political causes instigated the proneness to negotiation which they regarded as big



with danger. 'We cannot take a view of your conduct from the commencement of your negotiations for the Sircars, without the strongest disapprobation, and when we see the opulent fortunes, suddenly acquired by our servants, who are returned since that period, it gives but too much weight to the public opinion, that this rage for negotiations, treaties, and alliances has private advantage more for its object than the public good.'

Besides the more sordid class of minds against which these remarks were aimed, the Court had however in their service men of the mould of Clive and Warren Hastings, and minds of their stamp viewed affairs on the spot with a different eye from that of the corporate body in the city. A servant of the Company who could act as set forth in the following extract was not likely to be impeded by an overwhelming fear of responsibility:—

'In 1759 an armament of seven ships from Batavia unexpectedly made its appearance in the mouth of the river. Jaffier Ally had secretly encouraged the Dutch to send this force. Being afraid of the power of the English, he wished to balance that of the Dutch against it, while the latter were eager to share in the wealth which the British had acquired in Bengal. Clive, though sensible of the responsibility he would incur by attacking the forces of a friendly power, was satisfied that if he allowed the Batavian armament to join the garrison at Chinsurah, the Nabob would throw himself into the arms of his new allies, and the English ascendancy in Bengal would be exposed to serious danger. To prevent this, he obtained from the fears of the Nabob a mandate, directing the newly arrived armament to leave the river. Under the authority of this order, and the pretext of enforcing it, Clive caused the Dutch to be attacked both by land and water. They were completely defeated on both, and all their ships were taken. A Convention (No. IV.) was then signed, by which the Dutch agreed to pay indemnification for losses, and the English to restore the ships and property.'

Though this transaction wound up with a Treaty enjoying the sanctimonious heading '*au nom de la Trinité très sainte,*' and as became a document opening with so much unction was accompanied by very fine-drawn and equivocal assertions and distinctions on both sides, it must be allowed that whilst the Dutch met their match in their own crooked ways of action, there was an essential antagonism between the qualms of conscience so safely indulged by the gentlemen that sat 'at home in ease,' and the latitude and elasticity of conscience

which, to their servants in conflict with insidious friends and wily foes, black or white, was almost of necessity imposed by the instinct of self-preservation. The sweep and pressure of circumstances was too strong for such feeble barriers as were presented by the well meant attempts of the Court to limit the aims of their Governors to present possessions and lucrative investments. As a consequence, though a very moderate sized octavo volume would in 1768 have contained the whole of our Indian Treaties, seven stout octavo volumes now barely suffice after all possible condensation, to lay before the world the series of political engagements which have marked the growth of our supremacy in the East, and the literal accomplishment of the hardy prophecy of 1768.

Doubtless the Secretary of State and his Council will receive Mr. Aitchison's seven volumes with very different emotions than those with which their predecessors of a century back would have hailed a single volume. Such a compilation has always been a desideratum, and the partial attempts previously made to meet the want have been, though valuable, isolated, and inadequate. No one could say where some treaties were to be found; and for others search was requisite in different and some of them bulky compilations. No one work existed of a convenient and handy form complete in its contents.

It is not however the Government of India alone or its servants which will profit by this remarkable publication, the intrinsic value of which is by no means confined to the facilities of reference which it affords to those whom it more immediately concerns to be conversant with our political relations in the East. It will have a wider sphere of utility, and when once known in England, will be found by members of Parliament a complete and very impartial epitome of the rise and consolidation of our Indian Empire. If treaties and engagements be regarded as in themselves the mere skeleton of the body politic, needing in order to have form and substance, a clothing of flesh and muscle, the introductory notes to each chapter or series will be found invaluable aids to this process of giving shape and substance to the bare frame-work. Though luminous to the well read, they are necessarily severely concise; so much so indeed that although a person conversant with the works devoted to the different epochs of Indian History will be at once conscious of the labour which these prefatory remarks may have cost the author, an ordinary reader might skim them over with a very inadequate conception of the mass of reading which underlies them, and which has been most unsparingly fused down in the process of condensing into the most moderate space consistent



with an indispensable amount of information. The style too is clear, brief, and unpretentious. No marginal references or foot notes act as finger-posts to the long and often weary roads over which the author must have travelled. Such adjuncts, however demonstrative of the labours of the writer, would have overladen the margin with a multiplicity of numbers, dates, and names; and would have injured the simplicity without adding to the official utility of the work—an object of which the author never seems for a moment to have lost sight. Hence too a studious avoidance of comment or discussion on moot points of policy; beyond a virile tone of thought and an incidental observation here and there which is indicative of aversion to the weak and puny policy of trimming times, there is an utter absence of partisanship—a stern impartiality and freedom from bias whether of prejudice or of theory. We are mistaken however if even an ordinary reader would fail to observe the precision with which a long chain of political events is uncoiled without break or hitch, and without sacrifice of perspicuity, to the rigid condensation of matter which was manifestly the self-imposed law under which Mr. Aitchison composed his monograph outlines of the history of our relations with separate states. A second perusal of any of the introductory chapters, and at the same time an occasional dip into the various works dealing with isolated portions of Indian History would soon lead such a reader to enlarge his estimation of the scope and value of these carefully elaborated epitomes, and as he went on with the process he would soon discover, more especially if he compared part with part, that he had the means of tracing not only the existing form assumed by the body politic, but the various stages through which it passed before attaining its present gigantic proportions.

Group for instance the introductory remarks to Part 1, Vol. 1, Bengal, with those headed 'the Carnatic,' Part 2, Vol. 5, a close resemblance will be found in the importance which at one period of our history attached to our relations with those subordinate Chiefs, the Nabobs of Moorshedabad and of the Carnatic. Of the two the Soobahdaree of Bengal, from the natural wealth and resources of the Province and from its being the outlet to the sea for the traffic of the great Gangetic plain, was a superior Lieutenantcy to the Carnatic, which was only one of the sub-divisions of the great Soobahdaree of the Deccan. But there was this in common to the two Nabobs, that being Lieutenants of the Empire on the seaboard they were early brought into contact with the rival European nations who sought to establish a lucrative trade with

India, and were eager to secure for their commercial factories, privileges, and protection. Hence a prominence was long given to our relations with these Nabobs which was disproportionate to their real position among the magnates of the Mogul Empire. After once our power had struck root on the Coasts of India and safe points of connection with the sea, (the true base of operations for a maritime power like England,) had been made sure, then the transient importance of these Nabobs rapidly faded, and shrunk into insignificance as we came into contact on our Frontiers with the greater and more substantive powers. That there was a just conception of the subordinate position of these Nabobs is proved by the fact that both for the Dewany of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and for the grants made in the Carnatic, Firmauns, or Altungah Sunnuds were obtained from the Mogul in 1765. Clive, like Warren Hastings, had been bred in the Madras School, where, as Mr. Aitchison remarks, 'the struggle for supremacy hinged upon the contest of 'two rivals for the Nabobship of the Carnatic,' and he applied the same policy to the Dewany of Bengal; and with like results though with a speedier issue as to the fate of Nazim and his family; our author with respect to him observes:—

'Syef ô Dowla was succeeded in 1770 by his brother Mo-barik ô Dowla, with whom a new Engagement (No. XII.) was made. By this engagement the Nabob's stipend was fixed at 31,81,991 Rupees. This is the last Treaty which was formed with the Nabob. The office of Subadar had now become merely a nominal one, all real power having passed into the hands of the Company. In 1772 the stipend was reduced to sixteen lakhs a year, at which rate it is paid to this day.'

He then dismisses them to the inheritance of the shadow of a name to which Warren Hastings doomed them. We find that it was not until thirty years later that the Nabob of the Carnatic became a pensioner stripped of all power. Mr. Aitchison gives a succinct account of the end of this Nabobate, about which, as it has struggled hard to occupy the attention of Parliament and to enlist the sympathies of the British public, our readers may like to refresh their memories. 'On the fall of Seringapatam, a treasonable correspondence was discovered, which had been begun by Mahomed Ali and his son with Tippoo Sultan shortly after the conclusion of the Treaty of 1792. The object of this secret correspondence was most hostile to the interest of the British Government. It had been continued by Omdut-ool-Omrah as late as the year 1796, and was indirect violation of his Treaty obligations. Enquiry was instituted which fully proved the guilt of the Nabob.—The British Government therefore de-



‘clared itself released from the obligations of the Treaty of 1792, which had been thus flagrantly violated, and resolved to assume the government of the Carnatic, making a provision for the family of the Nabob. Omdut-ool-Omrah died on the 15th July 1801, before the conclusion of the proposed arrangements.’ Out of these transactions originated the final decision of the Government that the title, privileges, and immunities of the family were at an end. We doubt whether the advocacy of Dr. Travers Twiss will be potent enough to reverse a decision which has been some ten years in force, and to be successful in re-establishing an empty pageant, profitable neither to Azeem Jah himself nor to the State. We cannot help thinking Dr. Travers Twiss exceedingly unfortunate in the selection he has made of a martyr, and that he might have chosen far more promising grievances for a Quixotic support.

There can be no doubt that the same end awaits the close of the title of Nabob Nazim of Bengal, which without any exceptional reason in its favour, has so long been permitted to survive its congener, the Nabohate of the Carnatic. The endeavour to maintain a stilted position on the strength of ancestral offices is a pretension which under a Mahomedan rule would long since have collapsed; attendance at the Royal levees in refulgent kinkaub, and a discreet use of shawl presents will not long stave off the inevitable oblivion; and it has been due to the ignorance as much as to the pseudo-tenderness of British sentiment that the vitality of such empty phantoms of departed greatness has been somewhat unreasonably protracted. The error was a venial one, though if anything similar had been attempted in behalf of those whose names had been prominent in England’s history, ridicule and mockery would have trampled such pretensions to the dust. The time has however arrived when the descendants of the families of the Nabob of the Carnatic, of the Nabob Nazim, of Tippoo, and of the King of Oudh cannot too early realize the necessity of accepting a position in Native Society analogous to that occupied by the noblemen of England with respect to its commoners. They cannot hope for a higher or more honourable one; the framework of society and of our administration does not allow of their holding any other; and it will, when fairly accepted, enable them to train and educate their sons in a manner which would fit them for employment and render them useful instead of useless and isolated members of society. There is small hope of so desirable a change as long as baseless pretensions are nourished.

To return to the subject of our early relations with Native

States, Clive seems to have been carried by his instinct for empire further in practice than he in his outline of the policy to be pursued admitted. Not content with the Imperial Charters for the Dewany and the Carnatic he looked further, and anticipating collision and conflict with the Nizam of the Deccan as imminent, he had the audacious foresight to provide himself with a Sunnud or Firmaun from Shah Aulum, which was thus noticed in a letter dated 27th April 1768 addressed by the Select Committee to the Madras Government :—

‘The blank Firmaun obtained from the King for the Soobahship of the Deccan shall according to your desire be kept with all possible privacy; though, should Nizam Ali (as it is very probable he may) obtain information of this circumstance, it would, we imagine, be productive of a good rather than a contrary effect, as we conceive the knowledge of our superior influence in the empire would increase the awe which our superiority of strength has already inspired him with, and his dread of this instrument reserved in our hands for a future occasion would probably outweigh any sentiments of resentment or jealousy arising from his reflections on our policy.’

Mr. Wheeler in his interesting Report on the Records of the Foreign Department remarks that the astounding fact of such a document is certainly unnoticed by any historian of India. It was probably kept ‘with all possible privacy,’ and never having been used may have accompanied many other valuable documents to England with Clive’s Papers; for judging from a Despatch of 1798 Clive was rather in the habit of retaining valuable documents in his own possession. The passage is curious, and although not new to the public bears reperusal as being connected with the exposure of the incitements to treaty-making at that period.

‘We have lately been informed that Lord Clive had in his custody clear and certain proofs of seven lacks of rupees being paid by Cossim Ally to our servants for making the Monghyr Treaty, and His Lordship having acknowledged that he is in possession of some information upon that subject, we have in reply thereto requested that he will transmit the same to us together with all the Papers in his possession relating to the private negotiations of some of our servants at the time of the revolution in favour of Cossim Ally Cawer, to be deposited with the Court of Directors, and also any other Papers that may be in his custody tending to set those transactions in their true light; for as those proofs came to His Lordship’s hands when he was in a public station, we deem them public papers and as such ought to be transmitted to us.’

*Had the Sunnuds or Firmaun existed among the archives of*



the Foreign Office in Calcutta, Mr. Aitchison would not have omitted so important a document; and as Mr. Wheeler also failed to discover it when overhauling the Records of that office, this singular historical relic, if extant, lies buried among the Clive papers in England.

Bold as was Clive's action in this matter and of course not at all in conformity with the injunctions of his merchant masters in England, yet his sketch of a policy was far more cautious, and may even call up a smile in the present day when read in the light of the state of affairs in 1865; but on the eve of his departure to Europe in 1767, with a political horizon black with threatening clouds, the man of audacious action was sobered by the contemplation of the circumstances and difficulties which his successors must encounter.

'The first period in politics which I offer to your consideration is the form of Government. We are sensible, that since the acquisition of the Dewany, the power formerly belonging to the Soobah [*i. e.* Nabob] of these provinces is totally in fact vested in the East India Company. Nothing remains to him but the name and shadow of authority. This name, however, this shadow, it is indispensably necessary we should seem to venerate: every mark of distinction and respect must be shown him, and he himself encouraged to show his resentment upon the least want of respect from other nations.

'Under the sanction of a Soobah, every encroachment that may be attempted by foreign powers can effectually be crushed, without any apparent interposition of our own authority, and all real grievances complained of by them can, through the same channel, be examined into and redressed. Be it therefore always remembered that there is a Soobah; that we have allotted him a stipend which must be regularly paid in support of his dignity, and that though the revenues belong to the Company, the territorial jurisdiction must still rest in the chiefs of the country acting under him and this Presidency in conjunction. To appoint the Company's servants to the offices of Collectors, or indeed to do any act by an exertion of the English power which can equally be done by the Nabob at our instance, would be throwing off the mask,—would be declaring the Company Soobah of the provinces. Foreign nations would immediately take umbrage, and complaints preferred to the British Court might be attended with very embarrassing consequences. Nor can it be supposed that either the French, Dutch, or Danes would readily acknowledge the Company's Soobahship, and pay into the hands of their servants the duties upon trade, or the quit-rents of those districts which they may have long been possessed of by virtue of the Royal Firmaun or grants from former Nabobs. In short, the present form of Government will not, in my opinion, admit of variation. The distinction between the Company and Nabob must be carefully maintained, and every measure wherein the country Government shall even seem to be concerned must be carried on in the name of the Nabob and by his authority. In short, I would have all the Company's servants, the supervisors excepted, confined entirely to commercial matters only, upon the plain laid down in the time of Aliverdy Khan.

'It will not, I presume, be improper in this place to observe that you ought not to be very desirous of increasing the revenues, especially where it can only be effected by oppressing the landholders and tenants. So

'long as the country remains in peace, the collections will exceed the demands; if you increase the former, a large sum of money will either lay dead in the Treasury, or be sent out of the country, and much inconvenience arise in the space of a few years. Every nation trading to the East Indies has usually imported silver for a return in commodities. The acquisition of the Dewany has rendered this mode of traffic no longer necessary for the English Company; our investments may be furnished, our expenses, Civil and Military, paid, and a large quantity of bullion be annually sent to China, though we import not a single dollar. An increase of revenue therefore, unless you can in proportion increase your investments, can answer no good purpose, but may in the end prove extremely pernicious, inasmuch as it may drain Bengal of its silver, and you will undoubtedly consider that the exportation of silver, beyond the quantity imported is an evil, which, though slow, and perhaps remote in its consequences, will nevertheless be fatal to the India Company. This point, therefore, I leave to your constant vigilance and deliberation.

'The subject of moderation leads me naturally into a few reflections upon Military affairs. Our possessions should be bounded by the provinces; studiously maintain peace: it is the groundwork of our prosperity; never consent to act offensively against any powers, except in defence of our own, the king's or Shuja-Dowla's dominions, as stipulated by treaty; and above all things be assured that a march to Delhi would be not only a vain and fruitless project, but attended with certain destruction to your army, and perhaps put a period to the very being of the Company in Bengal.

'Shuja-Dowla, we must observe, is now recovering his strength, and although I am fully persuaded, from his natural disposition, which is cautious and timid, and from the experience he has had of our discipline and courage, that he will never engage against us in another war, yet, like most of his countrymen, he is ambitious, and I am of opinion that as soon as he shall have formed an army, settled his country, and increased his finances, he will be eager to extend his territories, particularly by the acquisition of the Bundelcund District formerly annexed to the Soobahship of Illahabad. It is even not improbable that he will propose an expedition to Delhi and desire our assistance, without which, I think, he has not courage to risk such an undertaking. Here, therefore, we must be upon our guard, and plainly remind the Vizier that we entered into an alliance with him for no other purpose than the defence of our respective dominions, and that we will not consent to invade other powers, unless they should prove the aggressors by committing acts of hostility against him or the English, when it will become necessary to make severe examples in order prevent others from attacking us unprovoked. With regard to his Delhi scheme, it must be warmly remonstrated against and discouraged. He must be assured, in the most positive terms, that no consideration whatever shall induce us to detach our forces to such a distance from this country which produces all the riches we are ambitious to possess. Should he, however, be prevailed upon by the king to escort His Majesty to that capital without our assistance, it will then be our interest to approve the project, as it is the only means by which we can honourably get rid of our troublesome royal guest.

'The Rohillas, the Jants, and all the northern powers are at too great a distance ever to disturb the tranquillity of these provinces. Shuja-Dowla's ambition, the king's solicitations, and the Mahrattas, these are the three grand objects of policy to this Committee, and by conducting



'your measures with that address of which you are become so well acquainted by experience, I doubt not that the peace of Bengal may be preserved many years, especially if a firm alliance be established with the Soobah of the Deccan, and Janoogee, the Naugpoor Rajah, be satisfied with the chout proposed, to which, I think, he is in justice and equity strictly entitled.

'The Mahrattas are divided into two very great powers, who at present are at variance with each other, *viz.*, those who possess a large part of the Deccan, whose Chief is Ramrajah, well known in the Presidency of Bombay, and by some of the gentlemen in the direction, by the name of Nanah, and whose capital is Poonah, about thirty coss from Surat; and those who possess the extensive province of Berar, whose Chief is Janoogee, and whose capital Naugpoor, is distant from Calcutta about four hundred coss. These last are called Rajpoot Mahrattas, and are those who, after the long war with Aliverdy Khan, obliged him to make over the Ballasore and Cuttack countries, and to pay a chout of twelve lakhs of Rupees. With Janoogee it is our interest to be upon terms of friendship, for which purpose a Vakeel has been despatched as appears upon the Committee proceedings; and I would recommend your settling of the chout with him agreeably to the plan I have proposed, *viz.*, that we shall pay sixteen lakhs, upon condition that he appoint the Company Zemindar of the Ballasore and Cuttack countries, which, though at present of little or no advantage to Janoogee, would in our possession produce nearly sufficient to pay the whole amount of the chout. Whatever the deficiency may be, it will be overbalanced by the security and convenience we shall enjoy of free and open passage by land to and from Madras, all the countries between the two Presidencies being under our influence; but I would not by any means think of employing force to possess ourselves of those districts: the grant of them must come from him with his own consent, and if that cannot be obtained, we must settle the chout upon the most moderate terms we can.

'The Mahrattas of the Deccan can only be kept quiet and in awe by an alliance with Nizam Ali, which has already in part taken place, and I have not the least doubt that the Soobah's own security, and the perpetual encroachments of the Mahrattas, will soon make him as desirous as we are of completing it. When this measure is brought to perfection, not only the Deccan Mahrattas, but Janoogee also, will have too much to apprehend from our influence and authority so near home, to be able to disturb far distant countries, and Bengal may be pronounced to enjoy as much tranquillity as it possibly can, or at least ought to enjoy consistent with our main object, security.

'With regard to all other powers, they are so distracted and divided amongst themselves that their operations can never turn towards Bengal.'

Yet this sketch of a policy, prudent as it was for a Clive, did not meet with the approbation of the Directors, who in a general letter dated 16th March 1768, paragraph 8, expressed the following opinions:—

'We entirely disapprove the idea adopted of supporting the Soobah of the Deccan as a balance of power against the Mahrattas. It is for the contending parties to establish a balance of power among themselves. Their divisions are our security; and if the Mahrattas molest us, you must consider whether an attack from Bombay, which being near the capital of their dominions, may not be preferable to any defensive operations with the country powers on your side of India.'

Both Clive and the Court, but still more the Court than Clive, lost sight of the fact that in proportion as the power of the Company made itself felt, it must become more and more impracticable arbitrarily to restrict the field of English political and military action. This posture of affairs at Madras, Bombay, and Bengal was calculated to excite the apprehensions of the higher Chiefs of India; the Nabobs of the Carnatic and of Bengal had already succumbed; and matters had reached that stage at which it was vain to expect that the crescent power of the Company could either be viewed with indifference or allowed to repose undisturbed by the jealousy of Hyder and the Mahrattas kindled as it was by the breath of our envious European foes. We had struck too hard for our blows to be easily forgotten or forgiven. Could they honestly and effectively combine, the time had arrived for a coalition unanimously bent on the extinction of our nascent superiority. But then it equally stands to reason that a confederacy composed of the substantive powers, Hyder Ali, the Nizam, and the leading Mahratta Chiefs, the Bhonsla, Holkar, Scindia, and the Peishwa, left small option to a statesman like Warren Hastings, who saw that to the English it was becoming a struggle for existence as well as for empire, and who was not of the mould to be daunted by the difficulties which might shackle but could not intimidate his spirit. From this period dates the compulsory expansion of our relations with Native States, though measures had to be shaped so as to harmonize ostensibly with the tone of feeling in England as well as to cope with the exigencies of a critical and undefined position. The advance of British power and influence had therefore still to be cloaked, and hence Warren Hastings first gave form and stability to the system, afterwards more fully developed by the Marquis of Wellesley, of imposing the presence of a Resident and a subsidiary force at Native Courts. What has been lately said of diplomacy in Europe, namely, that it is armed reason, he felt to be absolutely true in the East, where diplomacy without force at hand to back it has small chance of success. From his time the Company may be said, though cautiously at the commencement, first to step upon the scene with the tread of a sovereign and substantive power, and to pass from Treaties with the littoral Nabobs of the Carnatic and of Bengal to Treaties with powers of a higher order.

As an instance of successful diplomacy the negotiations with the Bhonsla may be quoted which led to the Treaty of 1781 (No. XVIII.) This broke up the confederacy, and though the issue was favoured by the diversion caused by the rise of the Hill Chiefs of Cuttack, and by the dissatisfaction of the



Bhonsla at the neglect of his claims to Gurrah Mundelah by the Peishwa, yet the success was mainly due to the wisdom and foresight of Warren Hastings. Well might he write with evident satisfaction at the result :—

‘The mere fame of an alliance betwixt the English and the Government of Berar will have a great effect. We shall no longer be considered as sinking under the united weight of every State in Hindoostan. The scale of power is evidently turned in our favour, and this is of more importance than would well be imagined in Europe, where the policy of nations is regulated by principles the very reverse of those which prevail in Asia. There, in contests between nations, the weaker is held up by the support of its neighbours, who know how much their own safety depends on the preservation of a proper balance. But in Asia the desire of partaking of the spoils of a falling nation, and the dread of incurring the resentment of the stronger party, are the immediate motives of policy, and every State wishes to associate itself “with that power which “has a decided superiority.”’

It will be observed that the Treaties of this period partake of the character of engagements between equals; that they are free from provisions trenching on the independence of the Mahratta States or the Soobahs of the Empire, and that they even comprise obligations on the part of the English which place this latter in the position of inferiority inseparable from the payment of tribute.

Compare for instance such an article as the following taken from the Treaty of 1768 :—‘As the English Company do not intend to deprive the Mahrattas of their chout, any more than the Soobah of his pesheush, which used to be paid from the Carnatic Balagaute, belonging to the Soobahdarry of Vizianpore, now or lately possessed by Hyder Naique, it is hereby agreed, and the Company willingly promise to pay the Mahrattas regularly and annually without trouble for the whole chout, as settled in former times, from the time the said countries shall be under the Company’s protection as Dewan; provided, however that the Mahrattas guarantee to the Company the peaceable possession of the said Dewany: to this end, the Nabob Ausuph Jah promises to use his best endeavours, jointly with the English and the Nabob Wolau Jah, to settle with the Mahrattas concerning the chout of the said countries, how and where it is to be paid, so that there may be no disturbances hereafter on that account between any of the contracting parties or the Mahrattas.’—With that of 1798 (No. VIII.) which we are tempted to give in *extenso* as marking from the greater strik-

gency of its provisions that during what we have termed the transition period the English power had passed from a state of doubtful to a condition of positive and acknowledged superiority.

We shall however confine our extracts from this remarkable Treaty to the 3rd, 6th, and 7th Articles, which suffice to bring into strong relief the contrast between the character of the engagements of the two epochs.

## ARTICLE 3.

'The proposed reinforcement of subsidiary troops shall be in the pay of this State from the day of their crossing the boundaries. Satisfactory and effectual provision shall be made for the regular payment of this force, which, including the present detachment, is to amount to six thousand sepoys with firelocks, with a due proportion of field pieces, manned by Europeans, and at the monthly rate of Rupees 2,01,425. The yearly amount of subsidy for the aforesaid force of six thousand men, with guns, artillerymen, and other necessary appurtenances, is Rupees 24,17,100. The said sum shall be completely discharged in the course of the year, by four equal instalments; that is, at the expiration of every three English months, the sum of Rupees 6,04,275 in silver, of full currency, shall be issued, without hesitation, from His Highness's treasury: and should the aforesaid instalments happen to fall at any time the least in arrears, such arrears shall be deducted, notwithstanding objections thereto, from the current kist of peshush payable to His Highness on account of the Northern Circars. Should it at any time so happen, moreover, that delay were to occur in the issue of the instalments aforesaid, in the stated periods, in such case assignments shall be granted on the collections of certain districts in the State, the real and actual revenue of which shall be adequate to the discharge of the yearly subsidy of the aforesaid force.'

## ARTICLE 6.

'Immediately upon the arrival of the subsidiary force at Hyderabad, the whole of the officers and servants of the French party are to be dismissed, and the troops composing it dispersed and disorganized, that no trace of the former establishment shall remain. And His Highness thereby engages for himself, his heirs, and successors, that no Frenchman whatever shall ever hereafter be entertained in his own service, or in that of any of his Chiefs or dependants, nor be suffered to remain in any part of His Highness's dominions; nor shall any Europeans whatever be admitted into the service of this State, nor be permitted to remain within its territories without the knowledge and consent of the Company's government.'

## ARTICLE 7.

'The whole of the French and sepoy deserters from the Company's service that may be in the French or any other party of troops belonging to this State, are to be seized and delivered up to the British Resident; and no persons of the above description are to be allowed refuge in future in His Highness's territories, but are, on the contrary, to be seized without delay and delivered up to the British Resident: neither shall any refuge be allowed in the Company's territories, but sepoy deserters from the service of His Highness shall, in like manner, be seized and delivered up without delay.'



During those thirty years, as the authority of the Court of Dehli and the power and prestige of its emperors vanished, expiring at last under Mahratta predominance, our Treaties underwent a change of tone, which, though in part modulated by the uncertain sounds of the political trumpet of successive Governors-General, and more especially by the Quaker-like blasts of Lord Cornwallis, was attributable to the weight which our arms and influence were acquiring amid native powers rivals for supremacy. By no means underrating the virile policy of Lord Wellesley and its effect on the tone and substance of our Treaties, we must yet look to deeper causes than to those minor and surface-like eddies of the current of public opinion in England on the convictions of Governors-General in India. The march of events and the force of circumstances were predominant over all mere secondary influences. This detracts in no way from the merit of Lord Wellesley and the men of his school, for he had the sense to appreciate the necessities of his position, and instead of running counter to them, from a pusillanimous dread of what might be thought in England, he accepted the responsibility of founding a great empire on the debris of a crumbling one, and braved the danger, by no means an imaginary one, of acting in accordance with the grasp of his own statesmanlike perception of the opportunity.

Properly to comprehend the position of affairs during the transition period, which was the harbinger of Lord Wellesley's rule, the thread of historical events on the Bombay side, and the oscillations of fortune on that coast, must be studied. The compact but lucid remarks which precede the Peishwa and Scindia groups of Treaties are admirably adapted to give a bird's-eye-view of this portion of our Indian Annals; and when it is remembered that as late as 1782 it was through the mediation of Scindia and under his guarantee that the Treaty of Salbye was concluded, and peace restored between the Peishwa and the English, it will be easily understood how up to that time and even later our negotiations with native states trenched but partially on their individual independence. Lord Cornwallis, influenced by the views which prevailed in England, views to which he in theory at least made his own policy subservient, managed to observe in his letter to the Nizam of the 7th July 1789 and in his Treaties of 1790 the rule of reciprocity to an extent which disappeared from the Treaties of 1798 when Lord Wellesley, ceasing to deal with the Nizam as an equal, imposed conditions which sealed the dependence of the Nizam, and stamped his future position as one of purely subordinate alliance with the Company's Government.

From 1798 to the close of Lord Wellesley's administration in 1805 is an epoch from which the History of British India takes a fresh departure. It was the era of subsidiary alliances, of the annihilation of Tippoo's power and of French ascendancy, and of the dissolution of Mahratta supremacy. It was the epoch when the chimera of a balance of power among native states, and of the Company remaining a neutral spectator of the desolation of India by the ruthless plunderers Holkar, Scindia, and the Bhonsla, was found by experience to be an hallucination utterly incompatible with the imperious necessities of the times.

Lord Wellesley and the men of his school saw clearly the fatuity of the principle of neutrality and forbearance which had been the dream of the Home Authorities and the incubus of their predecessors. Though compelled in some measure to respect the prejudices, based on the misapplied analogies of European international law, which pervaded their countrymen and even the Statesmen of England, yet, they shook free from servile submission to what was felt to be wholly inapplicable to the turmoil around them, and the stern requirements of the circumstances in which they were placed. They did so too with a wise perception of the inexpediency of wholesale annexation of native states, and with a well pronounced conservative policy in their favour. But nevertheless they saw distinctly that amid such active and aggressive elements of conflict the English power must either rise predominant, or sink under the withering blight of Mahratta anarchy. The antagonism between the aims of Mahratta, or even of Mahomedan rulers, a much superior and more civilized class than the Mahrattas, and those of English rulers was a pitting against each other of the principles of evil and good. It was the spirit of cruelty, rapine, and anarchy in conflict with that of order, justice, and peace. Granting that the element of ambition existed on both sides, the ambition of the one was devilish, that of the other humane and Christian: side by side two such hostile principles of Government, if the chaos of the one can be called Government, could not exist: one or other must prevail, and fortunate it was for India that Lord Wellesley and the men of his school were not blinded by pusillanimous theories. They saw clearly the nature of the duel upon which they were entering, accepted its alternative, and shrunk not from the bold avowal that on the supremacy of the English power hung the future welfare of India. We have already alluded to the dictum of a former Governor-General of India that diplomacy is armed reason. If the definition have truth in Europe where the relations among Christian and civilized states are of that



nature that it is in the interests of peace and of an amicable understanding that the armed support which forms the background of diplomatic controversy should studiously avoid any threatening display, the definition has much more truth in the East, where diplomacy in order to be successful demands a more overt display of the material strength and support which underlies diplomatic action. To make good the grounds gained during Lord Wellesley's administration and to secure that the formal engagements entered into with native states should not prove waste paper, it was necessary at that critical juncture to develop the system of subsidiary forces introduced by Warren Hastings. Henceforward a strictly limited power was alone conceded to the Mahomedan and Mahratta Chiefs; for the future their position was to be one of subordination; they had passed from sovereignty to the abnegation of sovereign powers; from independence to dependence; and it was not to be supposed that so radical a change could have place without the Mahratta leaders more especially feeling chafed and humiliated. If the great battle of order against anarchy was not again to be fought, it was essential that the treaties exacted from the native powers at this period should have a firmer seal than that of the parchments on which they were written, and that the tortuous minds and the tortuous policy of these restless and intriguing chiefs should be curbed by the presence of agents of the English properly supported.

Lord Wellesley however had hardly turned his back upon India when the exploded fallacies of a balance of power among native states began again to sway the minds of some of our Indian officials, and even as late as 1810 there was a resuscitation of the idea in connexion with a proposal from the Bombay Government for the acceptance from the Guicowar state of a sum of money in commutation for the territory ceded to the British Government by that state. When making this proposal the Governor of Bombay and his Council discussed the policy of the restoration to the native states of the territories held in virtue of our subsidiary engagements and of the re-establishment of a balance of power among them, with a view of our return to the policy of forbearance and neutrality, and to the narrow limits of our former possession. The reply of the Court of Directors is a dispatch admirably written, and full of sterling good sense; it may have passed away from the minds of even historical readers, and as it deserves to be saved from oblivion, having been the seal of approval to Lord Wellesley's policy, we shall offer no apology for refreshing the memories of our readers with an extract from this most able state paper.

\* The relinquishment of the territories which we hold in virtue of subsisting  
\* Treaties with the Guicowar State is therefore simply a question of political  
\* expediency, and this proposition has nothing to distinguish it from the more  
\* comprehensive scheme of restoring to the rest of our allies the territories  
\* which they have ceded to us in lieu of subsidy except that the proposer of  
\* the scheme admits that it is the most objectionable part of it.

\* We are well aware of the dangers attendant upon too extended dominion  
\* and we have not to learn that an addition of territory is not unfrequently a  
\* subtraction from real power. There are circumstances also peculiar to an Eastern  
\* Empire which have led us to regret the necessity of spreading over a wide surface  
\* that ingredient of our Military force which it is most difficult to supply. But  
\* we are not convinced by the reasonings which have been adduced in favour of  
\* the voluntary contraction of our territorial limits, that our situation would be  
\* at all improved by such a measure placing out of view all the embarrassing ques-  
\* tions to which it would give rise between us and our allies, the inconveniences  
\* which it would bring upon a great number of our servants by depriving them of  
\* their present employments, and the inhumanity of handing over to Native rapa-  
\* city and misrule a numerous population who, we trust, are prospering under the  
\* benign influence of the British Government; supposing in short the scheme to be  
\* as easy of execution as its most strenuous advocates could desire, we should still  
\* be of opinion that it would not secure the objects which it professes to have  
\* in view, namely: the re-establishment of that balance of power which is said to  
\* have formerly existed, the extinction of those feelings of secret enmity and  
\* jealousy, which our paramount domination has excited in the minds of the  
\* Native Governments and the stability which our power would gain from such  
\* an improvement in the disposition of our neighbours as well as from the con-  
\* centration of our Military force.

\* You have shown to our satisfaction that in order to place the Native States  
\* in that situation which would constitute this projected balance of power, it  
\* would be necessary to restore not merely the cessions voluntarily made by our  
\* allies as the price of our protection, but also the territories gained by conquest  
\* from the Mahrattas in the late wars. We concur with you in opinion that  
\* even such a concession would utterly fail to satisfy their desires or conciliate  
\* their good-will. The policy of a measure of this description would be too  
\* refined for the comprehension of the Native Courts, and consequently our  
\* conduct would be attributed to motives more conformable to those by which  
\* their own proceedings are ordinarily regulated. The contraction of our terri-  
\* torial limits would be considered as a symptom of declining power, and, unless  
\* in establishing a nearer equality among the Native States at the expense of  
\* our own territorial dominion, we could at the same time eradicate from the  
\* minds of Native Rulers that lust of conquest which is inherent in their poli-  
\* tical system, and substitute in its place just and moderate principles and a  
\* disposition to submit implicitly to the obligations of public law as recognized  
\* and interpreted by the authority of the British Government, nothing can be  
\* more evident than that the balance would be destroyed in less time than was  
\* required for adjusting it. It surely could never be intended by the projectors  
\* of this scheme that after having bestowed such elaborate pains and made such  
\* large sacrifices in establishing a balance of power in India, we should abstract  
\* ourselves entirely from all attention to the concerns of surrounding States  
\* and be thenceforth solely occupied in administering our own affairs; this  
\* would be not only impolitic but impossible. We therefore should not be ex-  
\* onerated from the duty of watching as heretofore, the proceedings of those  
\* States, and of interfering in their differences. If we fail to effect the accom-  
\* modation of those differences by amicable means, we must then as before have  
\* recourse to arms, and supposing the result of our efforts to be as successful as  
\* they have formerly proved, we should be gradually reconducted to our present  
\* situation.

\* By adopting the scheme of abandoning our recent conquest and acquisitions,  
\* we should therefore at the best impose upon ourselves the labour of retracing



'our steps with all the responsibility, disgrace, and risk of having by a short-sighted policy occasioned the contentions, devastation, and confusion which would ensue from a voluntary dereliction of the commanding position we at present occupy.

'In every view which we can take of the scheme in question, it appears to us calculated to produce any effect rather than that security, stability, and tranquillity which it professes to have for its objects, and we are persuaded from deep and anxious reflection that the only course which true wisdom and sound policy prescribe is strenuously to maintain that ascendancy which a long course of events (the result of accident or necessity rather than of design or choice) has given to our power in the East. We therefore could not by any means entertain a proposition which, in requiring us to resign a considerable extent of territory, would in our view require us also to forego that paramount dominion which appears to us to afford the best security for the general peace of India, and which will also enable us more effectually to crush any new combinations which may be formed against our power.'

It is not our intention to follow closely the changing phases of our general policy, or the traces which its oscillations and consequent inconsistencies have left on the text of our treaties. Our readers, with Mr. Aitchison's work before them, will easily, in spite of his commendable reserve and scrupulous abstinence from controversy, perceive that he is no admirer of the retrograde policy which bore ill fruit under Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Barlow, and later still under Lord William Bentinck broke down and brought discredit on the Anglo-Indian Government. The theory of non-interference, applicable enough to independent states beyond our frontiers, has repeatedly failed when attempts have been made to carry it out strictly with respect to states which are incorporated in the circle of British India. Instead of being conservative of such Native Chiefships it has proved their destruction. Their extirpation would infallibly be secured, and that in the shortest time, by leaving them to their own suicidal courses: public opinion would then soon grow impatient and force the Government to wipe out administrations which were a disgrace to humanity. Without entering fully into the question of non-interference, the fallacies and the dangers which it involves could not be shown. For this there is neither space nor time; but it enters within the scope of this article to point out that, whilst over one large and important class of native states, namely those of Central India and the Deccan, our relations had passed from equal to unequal alliances and had reduced them to dependencies, the states of Rajpootana, owing to a clause in the Treaty of 1805, (No. XVI.) with Scindia were long artificially isolated and exempted from our supremacy.

Mr. Aitchison notes the fact thus:—

'The system of non-interference which was introduced on the accession of Lord Cornwallis left the States of Central India

‘ and Rajpootana a prey to the Pindaree freebooters, who gained  
‘ in strength as the Mahratta power decayed. They soon ven-  
‘ tured to extend their depredations into British territory. No  
‘ line of defence and no disposition of troops could protect the  
‘ country from their incursions under the system of warfare  
‘ which they pursued, and Government was therefore led to  
‘ form a general system of political alliances for the entire sup-  
‘ pression of the Pindarees. The Treaty of 1817 with Scindia  
‘ removed the restriction which had been placed upon the form-  
‘ ation of alliances between the British Government and the  
‘ Rajpoot States, and left Government free to enter on new rela-  
‘ tions with them. The object of the treaties to be formed with  
‘ them was the establishment of a barrier against the predatory  
‘ system and against the extension of the power of Scindia or  
‘ Holkar beyond the limits which Government designed to impose  
‘ on it by other measures. It was not at that time proposed to  
‘ acquire the power of exercising any interference in the internal  
‘ administration of the Rajpoot States, but to subject only their  
‘ political measures and external relations to the control of the  
‘ British Government, to secure to Scindia and Holkar the  
‘ tribute payable to them in the event of these chiefs entering  
‘ into the policy of the British Government, and to secure to  
‘ the British Government such pecuniary aid as might be adapt-  
‘ ed to the means of the several states respectively, in order to  
‘ indemnify the British Government for the charges incidental  
‘ to the obligation of protecting them.

‘ Arrangements on this principle were made with the states  
‘ of Oudeypore, Jeypore, Jodhpore, Kotah, Boondee, Kerowlee,  
‘ Banswarrah, Doongurpore, and Kishengurh, and the relations  
‘ of Government with the more distant states of Jessulmere  
‘ and Bikaner were improved, but without the establishment  
‘ of the same intimate connection as with the other states.’

Upon the removal of this artificial barrier, which the British Government had observed with all good faith, though it was a proviso in support of the Mahratta pretensions to dominion over Rajpootana, our relations with the Rajpoot States assumed a similar aspect in general with those instituted with the states of the Deccan and Central India; the main difference being that there was no necessity for stationary subsidiary forces in Rajpootana. All the essential provisions which strip a state of the attributes of independent sovereignty were however carefully introduced into the Rajpootana treaties. These stipulations may be concisely stated as abrogating from the Rajpoot chief the right to make war; to negotiate with any chief or state without the sanction of the British Government; to



entertain English or European subjects of any other nation without the consent of the British Government; and as imposing the obligation to furnish troops according to their means on the requisition of the supreme power; to pay tribute; and in the case of Tonk, to disband its army and to deliver up to the British Government guns and military equipments. In a word these treaties amounted to a surrender of all sovereign rights in return for the protection of the English Government and its engaging to leave the Rajpoot chiefs their heirs and successors, absolute rulers of their own territories, without any introduction of the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the courts of the British Government. By 1818 the protection and the supremacy of our Government had been extended in terms more or less precise over the whole of Rajpootana, and thus, except on the line of the lower Indus, all India was under the accepted protection and the acknowledged supremacy of the Company's Government. Though the Punjab was not in the category of protected states, being beyond our frontier, the Cis-Sutlej States had from 1809 been under our protection, and were by Ochterlony's proclamation of 1811 brought more positively under the control of the Company's Government. Practically therefore by 1818 the mass of native states comprised within the natural boundaries of India, except the Punjab, Buhawulpore, and Scinde, were dependencies, and had ceased to exercise independent sovereign powers.

We are particular in dwelling upon this fact, because it is impossible to peruse the Blue Books laid before Parliament, or the published Despatches of our leading political officers, and even of some of our Governors and Governor-Generals, without remarking that the transition from a state of reciprocity and of dealing with equals to a condition of affairs in which the English Government as supreme dictated terms which reduced the native states, formerly claiming to be treated as independent sovereignties, to a position of feudatory and tributary dependencies, was frequently not sufficiently kept in view. The tendency to this error was increased by the Supreme Government occasionally reviving the policy of non-interference, and pushing it to an extent which could only be defended on the supposition that the native states to which it was applied were on a footing of perfect equality with the Company's Government. Whenever, from motives of narrow and short-sighted expediency, the British Government thus endeavoured to shirk the responsibilities of its position, and drew back from the legitimate exercise of its own superior functions, it followed of necessity that there should be uncertainty and no small

amount of contradiction in the theory and practice both of the Government itself and of its political officers. Concurrent with this manifest source of error was the circumstance that the generality of treatises on international law are, from their European origin, conversant with the status and relations of the independent sovereignties of Europe; whilst the works of American jurists, derived in a great measure from European prototypes, are naturally devoted to a consideration of the application of the principles thus derived to the relations of the federal states among themselves, or of the federal Government itself in connexion with foreign powers. The older authorities on international law seldom had any reason for dwelling upon the position or the rights of mere dependencies; they either make very transient allusion to them, or pass them over altogether. The influence of the authors available on the subject of the *Jus Gentium* was therefore calculated to lead our Indian political officers unconsciously to adopt and to apply to the exceptional and subordinate position of our native chiefs, views, rules, and of course language only properly applicable to the *status inter se* of sovereign and independent powers. Very grave errors and serious embarrassments may be traced to these combined sources; for not only were our own agents misled, but occasionally the misuse of terms implied admissions of which native chiefs were quick in taking advantage, and upon which they based and advanced pretensions quite incompatible with their relative positions. Besides being misled themselves, our political officers therefore not unfrequently fostered grave misapprehensions on the part of native rulers.

Nor will this tendency to misapply the vocabulary and the principles of international law appear extraordinary to any one moderately conversant with the writings of later jurists. Refer for instance to Austen's chapter in which he reviews the definitions of sovereignty given by Bentham, Hobbes, Grotius, and Von Martens of Gottingen; and where after criticizing the insufficiency of their definitions he proceeds most laboriously to state his own. A perusal of that chapter brings at once the conviction that even among jurists there had up to that time been a good deal of haziness of thought on this important subject of sovereignty. It cannot be surprising therefore if the use of language, very inappropriate to the actual relations existing between the Supreme Power and its subordinate feudatories, was to be found not alone in the mouths of the political officers, but even in the despatches of Government and the Court of Directors. Occasionally, where political officers wrote of the native rulers to whom they were accredited as if they had been



kings of France or emperors of Austria or Russia, the fact was in part ascribable to the latent desire of not diminishing the reflected importance which is derived from the dignity and power of the Court to which a diplomatic officer is deputed. But though sometimes self-importance, and at others misapprehension of the real position of native chiefs coupled with a laudable desire to do them all possible honour, affected the style of political officers, yet, such a passage as the following, which indicates the strange vibrations of our policy, affords both a key and an apology for the mistaken tone and language which often vitiates their Despatches :—

‘ A fundamental principle in the arrangements made by the British Government in Bundelcund was originally declared to be the confirmation of the chiefs of that province in the possession of such parts of their ancient territorial rights as were held under Ali Bahadoor’s Government, on condition of their allegiance and fidelity to the British power, their renouncing all views of future aggrandizement, and their abandoning such parts of Ali Bahadoor’s conquests as had been resumed by them subsequently to his death. It was also resolved to form arrangements with some leaders of plundering bands, who were not hereditary chiefs, but whose hostility was directed solely to the object of obtaining subsistence, and to grant these persons some territory, with a view to the pacification of the country. At first it was the policy of Government to leave the protection of their territories to the chiefs themselves, and to exact no tribute or revenue from them. In several of the engagements executed in 1805 and 1806, it was therefore distinctly stipulated that the chiefs should renounce all claim to the aid and protection of Government. Experience, however, soon showed the necessity of departing from this principle, and of declaring the Bundelcund chiefs to be vassals and dependants of the British Government. But it was never the intention of Government to establish its laws and regulations in the states of these chiefs; and to remove all doubt on this subject, these states were declared by Regulation XXII. of 1812 to be exempt from the operation of the general regulations and from the jurisdiction of the Civil and Criminal Courts. The particular clauses of the engagements made with the chiefs which imply a right of jurisdiction on the part of Government, have ever been understood to convey exclusively a right of political jurisdiction, that is to say, a right to interfere for the settlement of disputed claims, differences, and disputes of any kind, not through the channel of the courts of justice, but through the agency of the representative of the British Government in Bundelcund.’—*Vol. 3, p. 228.*

When in 1805 and 1806 Government reversed its policy, and negotiated with petty native states to obtain their renunciation of the protection of the British Government, the retrograde step was an attempt to restore them to independence by casting upon them the duty of self-protection, and it was accompanied by the enunciation of corresponding principles. Under such circumstances the political officers could scarcely avoid reflecting the views, however mistaken, which influenced and guided the policy of their Government. On such occasions the mischief does not cease with a change to a sounder policy. Government and its officers, after being for some time committed to an erroneous course, cannot at a stroke cast off its trammels. The traditions of office remain in the native chief's bureaux as well as in those of the agents of Government, and where there is a revival, as was the case in Lord William Bentinck's time, of the policy of non-interference, its advocates ransack the records of previous years for precedents based on the errors of 1805 and 1806. It thus becomes very difficult effectually to weed official correspondence of exploded and obsolete opinions.

We have said that the political language of Government and its officers was coloured not alone by the verbiage of a defunct policy, but also in no minor degree by the accident that as European international law dealt only with the relations of independent and sovereign political bodies, its language was not adapted to the consideration or treatment of an entirely different kind of connexion, namely that which exists between a supreme power and its subordinates. The technical terms in which to clothe such relations have to be created; and it was palpably easier to misapply those in use with reference to independent states than to coin new ones to meet the position and the obligations of dependencies. We have not far to turn for late instances of the misuse of the vocabulary of the European Law of Nations. A more glaring instance can scarcely be adduced than one which is given in Mr. Aitchison's work, where the words 'full sovereignty' occur in the Sunnuds or Charters granted to the Sikh Protected Chiefs, Putteala, Jheend, and Nabha. It is a complicated error. There is first the very important question whether powers of full sovereignty can be at all conferred; whether they are not matter of fact dependent on the actual and the undisputed power of a substantive State;—next, whether the Governor-General, or the Secretary of State, are in any possible way competent to confer such powers;—especially when their grant is *pro tanto* an infringement of Her Majesty's sovereignty rights, not supported by any expression of opinion

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on the part of Parliament :—then there is the absolute incompatibility of such powers with the fundamental status of those chiefs as laid down by the Proclamations of 1809 and 1811 ;—lastly, there is the statement that the original documents are in Persian, that the English-Persian is of no validity, and that the words ‘full sovereignty, are a false and exaggerated rendering. We have not space to enter into any discussion of those various questions, but when in 1860 a blunder of the kind could be committed, no wonder that during earlier periods a frequent misapplication of significant terms should occur. The proper vocabulary did not exist, and men will risk much in official correspondence to eschew tedious and repeated forms of periphrasis which are contrary to the idioms of our language and to the temper of our people.

At no small risk of being wearisome to our readers we must allude to the other inconveniences which attend a misuse of words, conveying the idea of rights which are non-existent in the subjects to whom the terms are applied. No better field or more golden opportunity could be offered to those bent on creating political capital at the expense of the Anglo-Indian Government, and we are only surprised that this rich mine has not been more greedily worked. A further inconvenience is the inflation of native chiefs, due to the inspiration of false ideas, and the tendency to foster notions of independence pretty certain to encourage a wilful opposition to the wholesome advice and beneficial influence of the Supreme Government, a course pregnant with danger to the stability of native administrations. Finally, there is the inconvenience of helping to misguide English statesmen, a race not over-disposed to give time and thought to the investigation of Indian affairs, and who are very ready to take as admissions on the part of the Anglo-Indian Government any abuse of terms, however palpable, into which either the Government or its agents may fall. In the present day when the habit has been encouraged of looking beyond the Government of India to the Home Government, and to the floor of the House of Commons, even too of the Upper House, as an arena for intrigue and the agitation of ridiculous pretensions, the Government and their political officers cannot be too precise and careful in the language they use. Yet the difficulty which besets their being so should be fully acknowledged. Where are they to look for an accurate and accepted phraseology free from associations or false analogies which are inseparable from the employment of the common terms which have currency and are derived from the international law of Europe? It might be ill-naturedly put as an instance

of the utter indifference of England to its Indian empire that there has been no attempt whatever to analyze the relations existing between the supreme power and its subordinates. One of the last writers, Twiss, cannot be fairly blamed for neglecting a subject which did not come within the scope of his work; as it only professed to treat of the law of nations considered as independent political communities, fault cannot justly be found with the summary way in which he dismisses the consideration of the dependent states of India. Yet what could be more meagre than the following passage which is all that he deigns to devote to the status of our native chiefships:—

‘The native states of India are instances of protected dependent states, maintaining the most varied relations with the British Government under compacts with the East India Company. All these states acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government, and some of them admit its right to interfere so far in their internal affairs, that the East India Company has become virtually sovereign over them. None of these states however hold any political intercourse with one another or with foreign powers.’

Leaving out of consideration the strange fact that in 1861 a writer of Twiss’s ability should write of the East India Company as a still existant sovereign body, we have the characteristic fact that, whilst ten lines are sufficient for the notice conferred on the political relations of native states with the supreme British power, two full pages are assigned to the principality of Monaco, and two full pages to the Lordship of Kniphausen.

It is useless to quote other authors for, except Austen, none attempt honestly to grapple with the status of semi-sovereign states, a designation to which he objects. Even with Austen however India is wholly ignored. This may have arisen from the want of such a work as Mr. Aitchison’s at the time Austen wrote, for he was too profound a thinker, and too honest a one, to shirk the discussion of the relations of dependent states. Accordingly it is in his writings, more than in those of the generality of authors on the *Jus Gentium*, that guiding principles and an approach to correct phraseology may be obtained. Some of his generalizations are very remarkable, and it might almost be imagined that he had the history of many native states in view when he penned such a passage as the following:—Most indeed of the Governments ‘deemed imperfectly supreme, are Governments which in their origin had been substantially vassal; but which had insensibly escaped



'from most of their feudal bands, though they still continued 'apparently in their primitive state of subjection.' Had Austen had in his eye the soobahs of the Delhi empire, or the robber Mahratta chiefs, the Peishwa's Lientenants, no description could be more accurate.

After a careful dissection of the distinction of sovereign and other political powers into such as are legislative, and such as are executive or administrative, he arrived at the conclusion, that of all the larger divisions of political powers the division of those powers into supreme and subordinate is perhaps the only precise one, and that 'a society political but subordinate 'is merely a limb or member of a society political and independent'; and, with respect to the rulers of such communities, he says 'the powers or rights of subordinate political superiors 'are merely emanations of sovereignty. They are merely 'particles of sovereignty committed by sovereigns to subjects.'

It would have been well had these axioms of Austen's been better known by some of our Indian political officers; they would then have been restrained from the loose employment of terms far more comprehensive than was properly applicable. When a writer of Austen's ability lays down the principle that 'there is no such political mongrel as a Government sovereign 'and subject,' and that the political powers of a Government deemed imperfectly supreme, exercised entirely and habitually at the pleasure and bidding of the other, are merely nominal and illusive, it is to be regretted that both on the part of Government and its officers greater attention should not have been paid to accuracy of expression.

These remarks are made in no other than the most friendly feeling to native states, and from the conviction that the course most conservative of their permanent interests is that which prevents their rulers, from entertaining chimerical notions of their footing with respect to the Supreme Government: a just apprehension of their real position will show them the wisdom of avoiding opposition to the onward start which India is at length making under British rule; and the expediency of identifying themselves and their states with the progress now effecting around them. By thus making common cause with the British Government in its beneficent exertions, their own abiding interests will be far better fostered than by the indulgence of empty pretensions. The English Government neither wishes to curtail their honours or their possessions; the adoption and succession Sunnuds entered in Mr. Aitchison's work are proof of its disinterested desire for the perpetuation of the rule of its subordinate allies and feudatories. The only thing which

can now be fatal to them is gross misrule and its consequent isolation from the policy of the Government of India, namely, the rapid improvement of India and its races. The days of the annexation policy\* are passed, and nothing but gross and obstinate dereliction from the obligations and duties of their position can henceforward endanger them; but they must honourably discharge the trust devolved upon them, for it will not be to their advantage to evoke the exercise of such remedial measures as those which Lord Elgin was compelled to adopt at Oodeypore. If the days of annexation are gone, so too are the days of gross cruelty and tyranny; for British supremacy can neither tolerate nor cloak such abuse of administrative powers under the ægis of its protection.

Some of our readers may be disposed to accuse us, in our previous observations, of combating an ideal danger; but a reference to Mr. Aitchison's remarks on Kattywar must disabuse them of this suspicion.

\* The discussions with the Peishwa, however, were ended by the Treaty of 1817, by the 7th Article\* of which he ceded to the British Government all his rights in Kattywar; and since the agreement† in 1820 with the Guikwar, by which he engaged to send troops into Kattywar and to make no demands on the province except through the British Government, the supreme authority in Kattywar has been vested in the British Government alone, *firstly*, in its own share acquired under the Treaty of 1817, and *secondly*, in the Guikwar's share by virtue of the above agreement. In the districts known as the Panch Mehals‡ however, which had come under the direct rule of the Guikwar, and in Okamundul, which, after its conquest by the British Government, was ceded to the Guikwar by the 7th Article of the Treaty¶ of 6th November 1817, the internal management is conducted by the officers of the Guikwar.

† It was soon discovered that the Kattywar chiefs, partly from their pecuniary embarrassments, and partly from their weakness and the subdivision of their jurisdictions, were incapable of acting up to the engagements which bound them to preserve the peace of the country and suppress crime. On the other hand, the British Government was fettered in its efforts to effect an improvement in the administration by these very engagements which it had mediated when the country was under the authority of the Peishwa and the Guikwar, and when the substitution of the direct control of the British supremacy for that of the native governments had not been contemplated. These engagements, besides considerations of financial and political expediency, prevented the subjection of the chiefs to ordinary British rule, and no course of reform was left open save to introduce a special authority suited to the obligations of the British Government, the actual condition of the country, and the usages and character of its inhabitants. Inquiries which had been instituted in 1825 showed that the Kattywar chiefs believed the sovereignty of the country to reside in the power to whom they paid tribute; that before the British Government

\* See vol. III., page 79.

† See vol. III., page 342.

‡ Amreee, Dharee, and Danturwar, in the Kattywar division; Korinar in Sorath; and Dammuggur in Gohelwar.

¶ See above, page 330.



assumed the supreme authority, the Guikwar had the right of interfering to settle disputed successions, to punish offenders seized in chiefships of which they were not subjects, to seize and punish indiscriminate plunderers, to coerce chiefs who disturbed the general peace, and to interfere in cases of flagrant abuse of power or notorious disorder in the internal government of the chiefs. Based therefore, upon these rights of the supreme power, the British Government, in 1831, established a Criminal Court of Justice in Kattywar, to be presided over by the Political Agent aided by three or four chiefs as assessors, for the trial of capital crimes in the estates of chiefs who were too weak to punish such offences, and of crimes committed by petty chiefs upon one another, or otherwise than in the legitimate exercise of authority over their own dependants. Until the year 1853 every sentence passed by this Court was submitted to the Bombay Government for approval; but now sentences not exceeding imprisonment for seven years do not require the sanction of superior authority. There are five chiefs in Kattywar, viz., Joonagurh, Nowanuggur, Bhownuggur, Poorbunder, and Drangdra, who exercise first class jurisdiction, that is to say, have power to try for capital offences, without permission from the Political Agent, any persons except British subjects; and eight, viz., Wankaneer, Morvee, Rajkot, Gondul, Dheral, Limree, Wudwan, and Palitana, who exercise second class jurisdiction, that is to say, have power to try for capital offences, without permission of the Political Agent, their own subjects only.

Notwithstanding these efforts to reform the administration of Kattywar, there has been little improvement in the condition of the country. The social and political system of Kattywar is described as a system of sanguinary boundary disputes, murders, robbery, abduction, arson, and self-outlawry. Upwards of two hundred persons are said to have voluntarily made themselves outlaws and to subsist professedly by depredation. Although about eighty of the petty states which existed in 1807 have been absorbed in other states, yet, from the constant sub-division of possessions by inheritance, the number of separate jurisdictions\* has risen to four hundred and eighteen, and in the majority of these the jurisdiction claimed is over two villages, one village, and often over a fraction of a village. A scheme is now under the consideration of government for the re-organization of the administration by classifying the petty chiefs and defining their powers and the extent of their jurisdiction, dividing the country into four districts and appointing European officers to these districts to superintend the administration generally, and more particularly to try inter-jurisdictional cases and offenders who have no known chief, or who are under such petty landholders as may be unable to bring them to trial.

Can the *reductio ad absurdum* be carried to a greater length than the idea of independent jurisdictions over fractions of villages? Were an English jurist to push the theory in which some of them revel (that the king is the fountain of

* In Jhalawar	...	...	...	...	...	102
In Kattywar Proper	...	...	...	...	...	151
In Muchoo Kanta	...	...	...	...	...	2
In Hallar	...	...	...	...	...	47
In Soruth	...	...	...	...	...	7
In Purda	...	...	...	...	...	1
In Gohelwar	...	...	...	...	...	51
In Ond Surwya	...	...	...	...	...	37
In Bahriawar	...	...	...	...	...	96
Total	...	...	...	...	...	418

justice and the source of executive power) to the extent that every bailiff, keeping himself awake as Beadle of the parish church by warming his cane on the backs of sleepy charity school boys, exercised independent sovereign powers, the theory would be thought extravagant. Both are however equally logical deductions from the assumed premises, and the cane of the Beadle is probably as efficacious an emblem of the sceptre as any which a Thakoor glorying in sovereignty over the sixteenth part of a poor Kattywar village could display. In the case of this province it would not be difficult to trace back to Colonel Walker's misuse of terms the whole long chain of a mistaken policy in stereotyping, under the influence of an erroneous lead, the preposterous pretensions of petty chiefs to the exercise of sovereignty rights over separate and (so called) independent jurisdictions. It might thus be shown that for a long series of years Government has been engaged in exorcising spectres of its own raising, but which unfortunately are easier raised than laid again, where, as is the case with our system, even errors are crystallized with sober good faith and always find most conservative supporters.

The wise and conciliatory policy of Lord Canning was not without some counterpoise. The liberal rewards granted were not always very well proportioned to the real services rendered in 1857; on the contrary some of the rewards were excessive, others misplaced, and there was some truth in an adage then current that the most profitable of all lines was that of a native chief, playing a waiting game and drawing it so fine that the odds were great whether a halter or the collar of the new order was to adorn his neck; for those who played that game usually came out not only white-washed but profusely belauded and rewarded, whilst the idea was fostered by the eagerness to praise and recompense that but for the support of these lukewarm allies we should in 1857 have been driven to our ships. Flattering as the idea was to the dignity and importance of native chiefs, it is not surprising that to the present day some of them labour under the fallacy that this notion had, in their own individual cases, an astounding amount of reality. There is a corresponding estimation of the inordinate value of their own meritorious services, and of the depth of the eternal obligation under which the British Government lies to these Paladins, and how very ill requited they have been in comparison with rival claimants for the liberality of Government. Each one of them lifted the English cause out of the mire; and but for his peculiar exertions and heroism our case was hopeless. A very large amount of bladder-like sound and inflation is the



result, and it may be doubted whether a single chief, however generous the British Government may have been, was either content or grateful. On the other hand however Lord Canning's policy, by the assurance it gave that annexation formed no part of our future scheme of administration, softened down the nervous apprehension in which native chiefs lived. During Lord Dalhousie's reign the dread of annexation reached a point of extreme tension, and the events of 1857 justifying severity on the part of the British Government, the magnanimous policy of Lord Canning came as a surprise, and though each chief was discontented with his own share of the bountiful return made for small services, and growling comparisons were frequent, yet, in spite of these pettinesses, there was produced a general impression favourable to the disinterestedness of the British Government. The incubus annexation was removed, and free from this nightmare fear the chiefs breathed freer. No better proof of the altered state of feeling could be adduced than that many of the chiefs, Scindia and Jeypoor at their head, have agreed to cede full rights of sovereignty over land taken up for Railway purposes. This has been done with a view of enabling the British Government to legislate for the maintenance of security to person and property along the lines of Rail, which before long will traverse the territories of so many of our dependent chiefs; but indispensably necessary as this cession is, and manifestly to the advantage and interest of those who have wisely made it, yet we venture to assert that but for the confidence in our intentions due to Lord Canning's policy and measures, no such concession would have been willingly made by a native chief. It would have been regarded, as it is still by some, as being the introduction of the small end of the wedge, and would have been opposed and resisted accordingly.

This brings us to the consideration how far, judging from such concessions as are above noted and from the abolition of transit duties recorded in Mr. Aitchison's work, native chiefs are becoming sensible of the immense benefit which they and their subjects are deriving from the trade which the English power has brought to the shores of India, and the wealth which has in consequence flowed into the country. Do they value as they ought the advantages which accrue to them from the enterprize and the ability of the European commercial community? Without in any way derogating from the qualities displayed by the Parsees, who, on the Bombay side, have established their pre-eminence, and are also elsewhere distinguished as enlightened and successful merchants, it must be allowed that with

few exceptions the trade and commerce of India owes every thing to the genius and daring enterprize of our own countrymen, and but little to that of its own native sea-faring merchants. Is there any due appreciation of the benefits conferred on our Indian dependencies by their connexion with the greatest commercial country of the world through the agency of a large body of intelligent British merchants engaged in bringing India as it were into contact with every region of the globe, by opening her ports to the free influx of the products of Eastern and Western nations? We think that there is a dawning perception of the great utility of our dominion from this point of view. The visits of native chiefs to Calcutta and Bombay have lately been more frequent, being facilitated by the Railways, and it is impossible but that the sight of such a ship-laden river as the Hooghly, and such a magnificent harbour as Bombay, must excite reflections in the minds of native chiefs and their followers calculated to allay their prejudices against a race which they have usually only known through its official representatives, and necessarily therefore under relations not the best adapted to smooth down pride ruffled by a sense of imposed subordination. There is a wide distance however between the superficial impression which such flying visits may make, and anything approaching to intercourse with the leading members of our great commercial capitals. Time must elapse before native chiefs, fully alive to their own interests as they on some points are, can be expected to share the enlarged views of our commercial men and cordially to co-operate by suitable measures in a vigorous expansion of the leading facilities of their subjects.

A net of Railways will rapidly develop the commercial intercourse and exchange of produce of provinces, and will thus tend to amalgamate their interests, but it will also effect good by destroying the isolation which fosters the jealousy of distinct jurisdictions. It will inevitably undermine in some degree the attitude of permanent bristling hostility to each other which they now assume and jealously maintain. Still we must not miscalculate the revolutionizing power of Railways, for although their effect may be great in both the above respects, and their influence immense in the general improvement of India, yet it will be long before an entire blending of the constituent parts of this vast and heterogeneous empire can take place. By our treaties and engagements we have conserved and crystallized administrative rights which will endure long after the improved state of intercourse makes the inconvenience of numerous jurisdictions vexatious. It is needless to add that whatever the inconveniences that may hereafter arise, they can only be surmounted by the



voluntary co-operation of the native chiefs with whom our compacts stand; and as our engagements will be observed with scrupulous good faith, it must be the work of time and of an advanced stage of education and civilization before native rulers are likely either to see the necessity or admit the expediency of conforming their laws and system to those of our own provinces. It must on this point be borne in mind that we are ourselves building up, under the general control of a supreme legislature, different minor circles of presidency jurisdictions, each with a rapidly augmenting volume of local laws emanating from them as distinct though subordinate foci of legislation; so that even according to our own example, influenced in practice by a dread of over-centralization, there will be nothing absolutely incongruous in the separate jurisdictions and distinct '*coutumes*' of native states. The immense area of the empire and the dissimilarity of its races will be the best apology for the protracted continuance of such a status; much however will be gained if the broad features of our Civil and Criminal Codes be accepted. To a certain extent this is already the case, for the principles of our jurisprudence and their embodiment in simplified Codes have already to a moderate degree permeated the administration of justice in native states and coloured their practice. Nor is this at all surprising, for as these states have no institutions in which either judicial or revenue officers can obtain the training which can alone qualify for a satisfactory discharge of such duties, their rulers are frequently driven to select their head judicial officers and sometimes their revenue ministers, from the native functionaries who, having served a long apprenticeship in our Courts and Provinces, have as it were graduated in law and revenue systems. Under these circumstances, whatever the extent to which such men may be forced to mould their own views in submission to the traditions and the practice of the executive systems over which they are invited to preside, the principles on which they act are based on their previous training, and the experience they have acquired that its principles were sound and universally applicable. The influence of such men is not wholly transitory. Gradually, though almost imperceptibly, they inoculate with sounder principles the offices into which they are introduced, and bite so to speak into their traditions.

Again, during minorities, the Supreme Government being responsible for the administration of chiefships, the opportunity presents itself for the introduction of wholesome reforms, and of improvements of every kind. Now minorities, as the students of Indian History well know, are not of infrequent

occurrence, and there are few things which after scrutiny prove more creditable to the integrity of the British Government, and to its honour, than the faithful manner in which it discharges its duty as the guardian and protector of its minor feudatories. A great deal depends on these occasions on the wisdom and the administrative ability of its agents, who, in the trust management of such territories, are forced to bear in mind, that, as the administration must revert on the minor coming of age to the machinery which the native ruler will be able to command, the improvements introduced must not surpass the capacity of the instrumentality with which they are ultimately to be worked. Otherwise all will crumble and disappear the moment the strong hand and will of the agent is relaxed. Of course under these conditions great judgment is required, and of a sort which no regulation training can impart, being of a higher order; but it is by thus judiciously taking advantage of opportunities that an impulse is given to the administration of native states which keeps them, if not abreast of, yet not hopelessly lagging behind the advance of improvement around them. It is at such times that the sounder principles of our Civil and Criminal jurisdiction strike root; and that once introduced into practice, and fairly accepted by the people, the attempt to eradicate them arbitrarily becomes both difficult and discreditable. Where the education of the chief is well managed during a minority, he is not likely when he comes to power to be so short-sighted or prejudiced, as to incur the odium of subverting what tends to the content and good will of his subjects. Popularity is something even in native states. There is thus a fair and reasonable prospect, one way and another, of native states being gradually confederated in the acceptance of the broader principles of our judicial system, Civil and Criminal, though there may long remain great diversity in the mode of applying the axioms of jurisprudence thus derived. For a long time to come our Codes may be to native states what the Roman law was to the provinces of France, which did not recognize it as having the force of law, but were governed by their own '*coutumes*.' As the Roman law prevailed in numerous provinces of France and guided the judicial tribunals of these '*pays du droit écrit*,' so in India our own provinces whose tribunals will be guided by our Codes may be regarded as '*les pays du droit écrit*,' whilst the native states will be much in the position of '*les pays coutumiers*,' where, though the civil or Roman law had not the same force as in '*les pays du droit écrit*,' yet it was in a qualified sense the normal law of France, being of that general authority that where the '*coutume*' or common law of the



province was mute, the Roman or civil law, if in point, ruled to the exclusion of the application of the 'coutume' of any other province. A French jurist, speaking of the civil law says, 'Ubi ad subortas lites, et quaestiones nihil provinciali lege cautum est, forensem semper jurisprudentia Romana facit paginam, ad eamque perpetuo, quasi ad sacram ancoram, certissimamque in expediendis controversiis semitam decurritur cum sit certissima quaedam velut amussis ad internoscendum quid aequius, melius; tradit verò de communibus vitæ officiis præcepta quæ alibi non reperiatur.' In similar terms many a native state, when applying the principles of our Civil and Criminal Codes, will speak of the labours of our jurists long before our system of law is literally accepted as valid in such territories. Practically however there may be brought about sufficient assimilation to prevent any very severe friction or antagonism; and we have an instance in the acceptance of the Thuggee and Dacoitee Department, with its special agency, of an imperial institution stretching the web of its police and informers over native states as well as our own provinces. Indeed it may now be regarded as having its separate machinery and system continued rather with the view of being a connecting link between our own police and that of native states, in order to combined action for the suppression of the widespread fraternities of Thugs and Dacoits, than as intended solely for their extirpation in our own provinces. That has been tolerably well effected in British India as far as Thuggee is concerned, but the seeds of it are rife elsewhere; and its organized bands finding shelter in native states around would soon start upon a fresh career of activity and crime were it not for the vigilance of this exceptional department.

We cannot however shut our eyes to a difficulty which the development of Railways and free and rapid intercourse with different parts of India is certain to raise. The number of European British-born subjects employed in India and traversing it in every direction is already much increased, and will with the advance of Railways be much more so hereafter. The question therefore will soon have to be solved how, with reference to British-born subjects in native states, law can be brought to bear. The way out of this difficulty would be much disembarassed, provided the imperial supremacy of the Crown in India be accepted as a reality, and the supreme legislature empowered by Parliament be authorized to deal with the question in the manner in which it can alone be competently met; but if there be any shrinking from this position, and a narrowing of the power of legislation for British-born subjects in

deference to subordinate and dependent territorial jurisdictions, treated *pro hac vice* as sovereign and independent, then we foresee very serious impediment to this growing danger being effectually grappled with before an adequate solution come to be forced upon the Home and the Indian Governments by the occurrence of grave events.

We do not feel warranted in prolonging this article by a further digression on the probable future of native states. Every thing will depend on their gradually coalescing, dovetailing as it were with the onward progress of British India. They form a large part of the area of the empire, and enjoy various degrees of capacity for improvement, but no one who has traversed them will deny the fact that they present an immense field for improvement. Aware that some of them lie under great disadvantages as to soil and position, we are not disposed to draw invidious comparisons between our own more favoured provinces and those of native states; at the same time we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there are those among them who enjoy considerable advantages in soil, products, and population, and who nevertheless make but very indifferent use of these favourable circumstances. Some are still inflated with a disproportionate idea of their own importance, and have not yet shaken free from the old Mahratta dream of supremacy. This leads them to waste their means on the maintenance of forces for which they can have no possible use, except as in 1857 to show to the world how entirely unequal they are to control the military mob they collect around them when a crisis arrives. Whilst battenning upon the resources of the state, impoverishing its treasury, and crippling it from useful and reproductive expenditure, armed mobs of the kind here alluded to are a source of weakness rather than of strength, and present a delusive show of force which crumbles at the first touch of conflict; and which, from the instinct of such bodies being a chronic state of hostility to the British Government, have a tendency to compromise their chiefs with the supreme power. Enough for purposes of state, and the enforcement of the authority of the chief in his own territory is all that native Governments can require; and every thing beyond this is a costly, and may prove a ruinous, error.

Mr. Aitchison's prefatory remarks would easily leads us into digressions of a more extended character, but though we are aware that we have done but scant justice to our author, and could follow many other lines of thought which his volumes suggest, we feel that already the patience of our readers must have been unduly taxed by the length at which we have dwelt on points



which, however important in themselves, can scarcely be said to command general interest or to admit of being treated otherwise than in a dry manner. We cannot however part from the author of the Book of Treaties without complimenting the competition civilians on this the first fruits of their literary labours. It redounds to the credit of the whole body, and it will be accepted as a happy omen of what may be expected from them. Whilst the old class of civilians probably closed their literary exhibitions with Mr. Muir's valuable work on the life of Mahomed, a work which has most deservedly added to the reputation of Mr. Muir, and is in every respect a worthy legacy from the Haileybury order of civilians, we hail with pleasure the proof afforded by Mr. Aitchison's work that the competition men threaten a most honourable rivalry with their predecessors; and that judging by the first fruits the public may look forward with considerable assurance that the ability and talent which marked the old school will not be found to degenerate with the new.

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ART. V.—*Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Indian Accounts, (Gazette of India Extraordinary, 25th October 1864.)*

WHEN we consider how universal is the importance of money and the desire for its possession, it seems strange that nothing is so distasteful to most men as a consideration of the means of preserving it. The manager of a great Joint Stock Bank at home, writing on the Philosophy of Banking, gravely urged, as a great and appreciable proof of its advantages, that by making all payments by cheques, men would be saved keeping accounts, at least of their expenditure. And even men who have advanced so far as to be able to put down their receipts on one side of a sheet and their outlay on the other, regard as a solemn mystery anything like a budget, anything, that is, like an estimate of probable receipts and of fitting expenditure, which may be some check on their manner of living in a coming year; and one friend, who does prepare a domestic budget, is compelled to produce it in his drawing room for the wondering contemplation of his friends, just as he would a photograph of the Princess Alexandra and her baby, or a newly found coin of Apollodotus from Peshawur. And as men are in private life, so are they in public. Code after code of law appears, is mastered and successfully administered; but accounts are looked on as mysterious things to be handled only by the initiated, *i. e.* to put it in district officer's phrase, by his baboos. No doubt there is also a lurking contempt for accounts, as bringing no credit and as having been at times entrusted to men held in small esteem; and certainly the only way to keep district accounts in good order is to make officers feel that well-kept accounts are an essential part of the well being of the empire, and that the reviewing officers are their superiors rather than their inferiors in knowledge and position, and even in breeding. The most simple system will not work itself, and those who have to work it must feel that they are not soiling their fingers by the task. Yet where stewards are so overtaxed as our district by officers, it is of the greatest consequence that their work be made as simple and as light as possible, and any change, though costly, which may secure this, should be welcomed with eagerness.



Twelve months ago there landed in Calcutta two gentlemen skilled in the English system of account, and entertained at great cost to improve the Indian. In the course of the past autumn have appeared two voluminous and able reports, on the military and civil accounts respectively, and that on the Public Works' accounts, to which their first attention was given, though less widely circulated, must be at least as bulky. At present however we have to do with the second of these only, that on the general accounts of the empire. As a good system of account is the greatest stimulant to economy and the best security for its observance, all tax payers every where are concerned in the account system of their own country; so that though even Mr. Gladstone might fail in making it interesting, a paper on such a subject might well be read with attention. And this should pre-eminently be the case in India, where a large proportion of the readers are officials, and a large proportion of the officials more or less closely responsible for the management of the monies of the State.

Sir Charles Trevelyan and his Commissioners however are not the first to attempt to improve the Indian system of account, though the peculiar conditions of the problem, and the necessity of employing in the main unskilled workmen have made the task difficult. Like all systems framed by Englishmen it has been built up bit by bit, the day's needs suggesting, and limiting, the day's advance. Our territories were included in three presidencies, united only in bearing a common allegiance to a distant head; each thus had its own accounts, consolidated with those of other presidencies only in England if at all, its own system, its own rules, its own machinery. Here pre-audit seems to boast an immemorial (Indian) antiquity, there it is a thing of yesterday; here Collectors cannot tell how they shall get on without a Civil Paymaster, there they mournfully presage such annoyances as they remember his first appointment twenty years ago removed; here the Accountant was a sort of Financial Secretary, there he was only a deputy of a Revenue Board. Nowhere however was any special training provided for, or any special aptitude demanded in, the preparer of the State accounts. Every one was supposed to know all the local rules, and all general principles, of account, just as he was supposed to know all Hindu and Mahomedan law. A Civil Auditor passed away to a district, and a junior succeeded, expecting to hold office for some two years, having a general idea of the rules he had to administer, bearing with more or less content, his ignorance of abstruser points, following on such points with more or less reluctance the guidance of his head assistant, and looking for-

ward eagerly to the time when he should blossom as a full Collector. The case of the Accountant indeed was so far different that he did not necessarily look forward to further promotion, but he had no special knowledge of book-keeping, and was possibly puzzled by finding he might with equal safety\* order a man to debit or to credit a certain sum.

Such was the system when the Court, on 17th June 1856, 'called the attention of the Supreme Government to various important questions connected with the comparative condition of the Indian finances, past and prospective, the causes of a continued increase of charge, the most suitable means of reducing the expenditure within the income, and the importance of adopting measures for reframing the Offices of Account at the subordinate presidencies, in order that a succession of officers conversant with the business of Accounts to the higher posts in the Department might be secured, and appointments to vacancies regulated accordingly.' A supply of trained officers could not be secured for a department boasting but two offices; differences of system would have made a skilled accountant from Bengal an ignorant learner in Madras; a local government would be little willing to give to a stranger meat for which a nestling of its own was hungering; and so, after directing that the Bengal system of account be everywhere used, the Supreme Government, with the Court's consent, gathered all the local offices into one department directly subordinate to the Financial office in Calcutta.† The persons employed were to be picked men, chosen by examination after five years' approved service, pledged to serve in the department to the end of their Indian career, liable to be moved from presidency to presidency at intervals of not less than two years, and drawing salaries higher than those of their contemporaries, lest the greater freedom and less cost of country life, and the more interesting labours of a district officer, should render all unwilling to volunteer for the new department. The plan secured to all the most varied experience as disbursers, as auditors, as accountants; but the temptations offered were too small to overcome men's objections to the incessant dreary routine of office life, uncheered by the hope of distinction or of any great prize; to the one examination which was held the

\* A few years back an officer, with heavy accounts, and fortunately more knowledge of business than most, received instructions from the Accountant, which his head clerk interpreted thus:—'Oh yes, Sir, quite plain, Sir; he say take from credit-debit and put to debit-credit.' The Accountant rejecting an imperfect voucher, instructed the officer to write back the credit he had taken, and again debit himself with the amount.

† *Calcutta Gazette*, 3rd April 1858, p. 611.



whole presidency of Fort William supplied but three candidates, and the demand of preliminary service had to be lowered that the best man might be appointed. This scheme has been formally abandoned for one put forth by Mr. Laing just before his retirement, whereof the practical effect must certainly be that no more covenanted officers will enter the department. Besides their natural unwillingness to serve under men technically of lower rank, they will be deterred by the small prizes set before them; they look to end their service with something more than Rs. 2,000 a month, to be earned by something more pleasant than incessant office work, and in a climate more healthy and a residence more cheap than Calcutta, their chance of obtaining even this small success being materially diminished by the fact that the pension rules of their departmental seniors seem framed almost as if to secure none but death vacancies.

So far, then, the steps gained were three; uniformity of account, training for the accountants, and their close responsibility to the Supreme Government. The importance of the last is less evident than that of the former steps, and may admit of a little explanation. Formerly these officers knew the orders even of the Supreme Government only through, and with the interpretation of, the Local; now those orders are sent to them direct, and they are bound not to accept without reference any questionable construction of the Government to which they are attached. But we may illustrate: three years ago it was whispered that the Punjab Government had allowed an officer 'to take his work' to a hill station a hundred miles from his own bounds, and claimed a power to do so generally; under the former system this must have passed unquestioned, but the Civil Paymaster objecting, as under the present system he was bound to do, the Supreme Government denied that local administrations possessed any such powers.

The system of account made general was that known as the Bengal system. Our plan does not demand, nor our space allow, that we compare this with its earlier rivals; but though it had been perfect, as are mercantile accounts, as a record, it was useless for the first purpose of all good State accounts, for check: it had no Budget. It had indeed its three estimates which nobody trusted, which bound nobody, any one of which might have been a quarter of a million wrong without causing its framer or his government more inconvenience than a temporary discredit, which, in a society so changing as that of India, would have been forgotten only less soon than any distinction he might have gained. The First Report of Mr. Wilson's Budget and Audit Committee of 1861 shows no trace of the estimates ever

having been treated as more than Cash Requirement statements, or of the whole expenditure of the State having been, year by year, subjected to a rigid scrutiny; and rightly says that 'the chief deficiency in the Indian system is the want of a Budget estimate of specific votes or sanctions for each service, and branch of service, for the year, \* \* \*, and the absence of any return by which the progress of expenditure, under the several heads of sanctioned service, can, from time to time, be ascertained in the course of the year.' But, indeed, it needed neither committee, nor commissioners, nor ex-Secretary to the Treasury, to tell people who had resolved to live on what they could afford to spend, not what they would like to spend, that the only plan was to see what could be afforded for each head of expenditure, and to take measures for a continual watch against an outlay of more than the approved amount.

The circumstances of the times invest with a sort of dignity the sonorous truisms which make up a large part of Mr. Wilson's minute of 7th April 1860. He declared his object to be two-fold, to secure that expenditure be prepared by a deliberate sanction, given by one authority after considering the ways and means and the divers projects of the year, and, by Imperial Audit of well prepared 'Imperial Accounts,' to secure that the money granted, and no more, has been expended on the objects approved. As a first step the Anticipation estimate was improved into a Budget estimate, after consideration whereof 'the Supreme Government will allot and appropriate to each branch of the service, and to the several detailed heads within each branch, specific sums.' These allotments were to limit absolutely the expenditure on each head for the year, so absolutely, that though the sudden advent of *locusts* might justify the Panjab Government in offering a reward for their destruction without previous sanction, an application for after-sanction must at once be made; while, as the more terrible visitation of famine was more slow in its advances, no aid could be given to the afflicted people without previous sanction. The former liberty of local governments could not co-exist with any 'Imperial Budget' worthy of the name, and it may have been necessary to make them feel the work somewhat sharply at first; but the harshest rules have now been explained away, and reasonable freedom so restored.

To consider how expenditure might best be brought to account, with a comparison at every stage between grant and outlay culminating in the 'Appropriation Audit' of the 'Imperial Books,' a well-chosen committee was appointed with most definite instructions. It is not necessary for present purpose to trace it through its ten reports, from that of 30th July 1860 con-



trasting the rival systems, to that of 18th January 1861, detailing the duties of the Auditor-General. Suffice it to say that the complicated array of returns which it required to be furnished by the Deputy Auditor-General, gave little hope that arrears would be avoided for the future, not to say that existing arrears could be brought up; and its provision that the balance of the grants of a year should be held for twelve months available to meet outstanding charges made any 'Appropriation Audit' worth naming, and any final balancing of expenditure against grant, impossible till the close of another year. But when one reads the committee's recommendation to assimilate the Indian system ('which does actually possess many advantages similar to those possessed by the English practice) 'in principle to the English system, once for all, so that India 'may in future possess a financial system which will be admitted to be theoretically and practically perfect,' one remembers with a little amusement that one part of this system did not continue in use a year, and that, after several intermediate changes of importance, Sir Charles Trevelyan and his Commissioners propose to improve the whole off the face of the earth.

For so far at least extends the improvement proposed by the Commissioners. Though not prepared to acknowledge their scheme to be in every point new, or to hold all their principles sound, all their proposals wise, or all their remarks in good taste, no reader of the report under review will deny to its authors credit for either care or ability. Too much may be made of visits to mofussil offices; the short time allowed may have made those visits of use only in name. The tone of some passages may argue a foregone conclusion, and betray the hand of the advocate rather than the judge; we may instance statements made without hint of verification, or their dainty joke that there is as much to be said for two pre-audits as for one. The general principles, too, which they have laid down, may not be accepted by all, but none will deny that they had set before themselves a definite goal, and had a clear conception of the steps whereby that end might possibly be attained. But we doubt much whether the simplicity they desire would be in every way profitable. To say nothing here of the proposal to have district accounts unclassified, is the jealousy between governments, which is said to be fostered by inter-governmental adjustments, wholly or chiefly injurious? Surely a Governor may take a legitimate pride in seeing that his province is cheaply managed, and the only practicable test of cheapness herein is comparison with the cost at which like results are obtained elsewhere. And the knowledge that his charges are subjected to

hostile criticism would probably make a Governor scrutinise them himself with almost hostile eyes. Sir Bartle Frere's minute on the cost of the Punjab administration was unfair, for it charged against a local government the cost of the imperial reserve, but it showed that all did not see with the same eyes as the writers of Punjab Reports. Indeed, if any Governor should find that his revenue does not cover his civil charge, and also pay for such part of the army as might be regarded as the necessary internal garrison of his province, he should ask himself on what ground, political or military, would he justify its retention, and might well doubt whether his scheme of administration, in being too costly for his finances, was not self-condemned as more costly than his rude people required. And it is so easy to bring admirable reasons for isolated increases of expenditure, that the cost of administration cannot be tested by arguments justifying its details, but only by detailing and comparing the cost of like administration elsewhere. Experience shows that as a favourite district will have a succession of picked officers, and as the cry of such men for increased establishments is more likely to be listened to, a favourite district will have a stronger staff than a less favoured one; such applications thus should be judged by comparison with the staff, which is held sufficient for presumably equal work elsewhere; and, in like manner, a Governor should compare his own police and other establishments with those having the like charge in other provinces. Honourable emulation between Governments, indeed, is probably one of the strongest incentives to economy as to every other improvement, and though troublesome monthly cross-adjustments may be, and are, bad from an Accountant's point of view, any change likely to destroy such emulation is bad from a higher point of view; and should certainly not be made. The adjustment may be annual and need not be detailed, but it should certainly be made, and a government should be charged with estimating for all money to be expended for it, and not merely what it will spend on its own account within its own bounds.

Again, in removing 'Allowances, Refunds, and Drawbacks' from their present place in the government accounts, the Commissioners have followed a false principle. One may note in passing how bewildering such a change would be to a person who thought there was one acknowledged principle of account, and remembered how carefully it has of late years been laid down that any entry of net charges or net receipts is a blunder as a matter of account. The fact is, wherever the payment and the refund are so far separated, in time or place, as to make the two operations two transactions, both should be distinctly shown.



And this is more necessary where the refund is made not under the operation of general rules, but under special orders, and where therefore the fact of payment must be distinctly recorded against those orders. If a drawback be paid in Calcutta on Shahjehanpore rum exported after paying a duty in the North-West Provinces, the Abkari accounts in Calcutta would only be confused by deducting the amount so paid from the actual receipts, instead of showing it as a payment; and if Land Revenue be refunded by order of the Revenue Board, to show only net receipts in a district would risk a double refund which the Accountant could not check, and would make less easy comparison between the gross demand and the money received on account of that demand. Gross receipts\* and all payments should still be shown in local books, though only the net receipts appear in imperial books; and gross demand should be given in the estimate of receipts opposite to charges, which will diminish the receipts, though a grant be assigned only to balance the budget.

Again the Commissioners would make the accounts merely accounts, leaving comparisons and accurate distributions of charge, as of the pay of an officer serving several departments to statistical returns. But, to ensure economy, such statistical returns should be prepared at regular and not distant intervals, and should be open to easy check. The great beauty of the budget estimate is that it is in itself roughly such a statistical return, comparing yearly the proposed strengths and cost of an establishment with that already existing, the receipts expected for a coming year with those expected in a former. Many returns now sent to the Accountant† may better find room on the shelves of another office, but the accounts should certainly not be simplified to an extent which would make them useless either as a foundation for, or a check on, such returns. Nor should simplicity be purchased by an inaccurate entry of the real cause of the receipt or charge shown.

By far the most important statistical return is, as has just been said, the budget estimate, but distribution in the budget demands distribution in the monthly accounts. And as the pay of

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\* According to the common system of Book-keeping, a tradesman allowing discount to a person with whom he had a running account, would show in his ledger the discount as a cash receipt.

† Let us note, once for all, that we have used the title of Accountant to denote the officer so called till Mr. Wilson's Committee elaborated it into Deputy Auditor and Accountant-General. The present Commissioners would call him Accountant-General, the present Accountant-General being called Controller-General.

district officers is to be distributed under two heads, there cannot be so many others serving two departments that to gain accuracy in detailing charge any great trouble would be caused. Nor for sufficient distribution of receipts would that marvellous return of income tax in eighty columns be wanted; it might indeed be filed in the district office, but as the Income tax demand is variable year by year, nothing is gained by showing the year for which payment is made; though as Land Revenue is a fixed demand recurring yearly, and as the Revenue Board must look to it that the gross demand is realized, receipts under this head should be shown as for past, current, or coming years.

At the same time the Commissioners have hit many terrible blots. To say nothing of arrears of years in the bringing up of accounts, a fault destructive to the usefulness of any set of accounts, differences of classification have been permitted which render the compilation of imperial books almost impossible. Accounts which should, though prepared by different departments, have corresponded, differed, in one case, as much as thirty-two lacs, in another eighteen. Large sums stand long as remittances between departments, which are really disputed accounts, in adjusting which the more speed should have been made, because they were disputed. There much labour has been wasted, not to the same extent, be it observed, or in the same way in every office, nor generally through observance of existing rules. The Land Revenue paid was of course credited to Land Revenue and debited to 'Collector,' but it furthermore appears in three utterly useless ledger accounts, while the seven processes, through which alone the unfortunate holder of an audited bill in Calcutta was able to get cash in exchange, were admirably adapted to drive every one to the arms of an agent.\*

Again the Commissioners complain that many trifling accounts are kept open too long: one return shows claims against government which have been outstanding for nearly half a century, and another a score of balances, each less than one anna, carried forward from year to year. They complain, too, that cash accounts, and stock and store accounts are mixed up, to great confusion and no profit; the manufacturing departments, even more than others, would gain by not having to translate their stock and their produce into Rupees, Annas,

\* For all that appears however a person wishing to cash a merchant's cheque would have to go through most of these processes. The attempt to make the Banks accountants as well as bankers, is well exemplified by the Commissioners' detail of these processes. The change has increased labour, not even saving that of the Treasury Officer, and, in the case of the Calcutta Collector, has facilitated fraud.



and Pies for entry in their books, and the goods manufactured or imported would be as safe from misappropriation if their issue were proved by an unpriced receipt as if cash were paid to be in part refunded if the property should ever be returned. Then they complain generally of insufficient check both of receipts and payments. The essence of a good system of account is of course such cross check as shall render impossible errors either of fraud or accident; and where the immediate charge of the cash box is left to men so poorly paid as our native establishments, such check is specially necessary. Yet existing check is really more efficient than they think. 'Interest on a Government Promissory Note may be paid twice, for the gross interest paid is reported to one officer, and the details of the notes on which it has been paid to another;' of course the detailed return might go with the abstract for examination, so being sent to the Accountant-General through the Local Accountant; but somebody must be trusted, and there is surely little risk in trusting the treasury officer, who is either a covenanted officer or a person who has won a good position by steady and honourable service, and who pays no interest without examining the note itself with its entries of payments. 'Cash once lodged in the government coffers is left unexamined.' Without denying that such deposits have not always been safe, by the nature of the case there is no room for fraud, but under most peculiar circumstances against which no frequent examination would avail. The person primarily responsible is the treasurer, a wealthy banker or merchant who has lodged heavy security, who therefore, to that extent at least, could not be a gainer, and who, were any monies missing, would be liable to trial for embezzlement. Again the money is kept in chests of moderate size, and if a common practice of exhausting one chest before touching another, and never placing receipts in the chest whence money for disbursement is being drawn, be followed, the same coin can never lie long; it is verified by remittance or expense. Coin is abundantly examined before it passes into the coffers of the State; access to it there is obtained only through the joint action of two officers between whom it is impossible to suspect complicity; when, after a longer or a shorter rest, it again issues, it is examined by other and hostile eyes: so that the risk from fraud to money once lodged in those double locked chests, seems inappreciable. How its passage into and out of those chests is recorded and checked, makes up the story of district accounts, whereto we must give minute attention after saying a word or two of certain departments of which the Commissioners have made separate mention.

The Calcutta Stamp Department supplies stamps to the whole of the vast presidency of Fort William. The Bengal Accountant was formerly able to check the superintendent's accounts, because issues to sub-presidencies were made through him; this check would be restored were the other Accountants, when remittance of stamps had been credited in their accounts, to advise the Bengal Accountant. Stamps are supplied in three ways; adhesive stamps are imported ready for issue; water-marked paper is imported from home, whereon the necessary impressions are made here; and legal documents and mercantile forms are sent by their owners to be stamped.

The place whence the first class are supplied is so distant, and check on their manufacture there and issue here so easy, that fraud in their issue need scarcely be anticipated; on the other hand there is room to fear they may be used twice. The water-marked paper supplied for the second class comes in reams which are found by experience not always to contain the same number of sheets; the excess it is said may be abstracted, but how is deficiency accounted for when there are less than the proper number of sheets? The proper plan evidently is to have the needful counting finished where there is no chance of a fraudulent miscount; and to have the counted sheets put up in closed covers large enough to be treated as bundles, and made over to the pressman unopened. So long as we superstitiously insist on using hand-made paper with its four rough edges and its varying thickness, there is no help for it but to count the paper leaf by leaf; but there is surely no reason why we should not use machine-made. A paper maker would undertake to make paper of any quality of any breadth in bands of almost any length, with a water-mark of any pattern recurring any number of times in the length of the band, and finally to fold that band into any number of exactly equal lengths; the office of check at home would receive the folded band with a wrapper pasted round it one way, would examine only the two rough ends, and then trimming the folded band with a cutting press, and sealing down a transverse wrapper, would be perfectly certain that it had made ready for shipment ten or a hundred sheets whether for judicial stamps or currency notes. The examiner in India would only have to see that the seal was unbroken, and so with little labour and no large establishment of counters it would be easy to check the store of water-marked paper, whether on receipt or at any later time. The third class of stamps are not all of one kind; it may be impossible to refuse to stamp executed documents, but it is fair to exact a fine for granting the stamp; but there can be no reason why mercantile forms should claim to be stamped at



any risk to the Government revenue. If the risk be, as one would conclude from the rules, that two papers may get stamped at one blow, an easy remedy would be to arrange that the impression be in part coloured; if that the department may stamp more documents than are shown in the accounts, an adhesive stamp might be attached in the Financial Department instead of a counterstamp. If the supineness of Collectors allow frauds in the Mofussil, the persons in fault might, under existing rules, be compelled to pay; and though a sufferer would of course be very angry, it would be a very good thing once to enforce the rule. If the signature of the stamp vendor is no protection to the revenue, it is as little to the public; a man wishing to commit a forgery can always get a stamp of any required date by paying a market price; in the house of a man reputed to be respectable, in a search for treasonable papers, between forty and fifty stamped papers were found, some of the earliest issue, as complete as dates and endorsements could make them.

Although the opium of the Calcutta sales is grown in the whole valley of the Ganges, the department is subject only to the Government of the Lower Provinces. The system is an instructive contrast to that on which indigo is grown in Lower Bengal, as on receiving his advance the peasant engages to cultivate such an area, and an agent, visiting his fields when under crop, fixes approximately the amount of raw drug to be delivered. The sums so advanced are enormous, and proportionate are the cash balances of the agents; it is not easy to see why these officers could not be allowed, instead of treasuries, letters of credit on the Collectors. The agents consolidate the accounts of their subordinates in a monthly cash account for the accountant, to whom they also submit a quarterly store account, and, strangely enough, an annual account of the nature of a general report, showing among other things the consistency of the drug; the accountant can do nothing with such a paper, but check the reported issues by the quarterly store account. These issues are managed strangely; the agent credits himself with the value of the drug at a fixed rate, and the Collector shows a like amount as having been paid, and, on selling it at the higher retail price, debits himself with the sum received; these entries of imaginary remittances are rightly said to be unnecessary, and there is no reason why opium should not be dealt with as stamps are, the supplies being shown as stores, and the value nowhere credited till the actual cash has been received.

Little need be said of the Sea Customs department. The chief complaints are that Appraisers are too much trusted, that pilot-

age accounts are too little checked, that double accounts are kept, and that some proceedings may be simplified; as an instance of the last is detailed the process through which rewards to informers are paid and charged in the accounts; these payments are among the many over which the Civil Paymaster has but a formal check. Nor need much be said of the Mint; bullion in store is said not to be checked often enough, but from the nature of the case its check is difficult, as not quantity only, but quality also has to be verified; by making Mint certificates\* payable at sight, an unnecessary advantage is given to importers, and, as was shown in Sir Charles Trevelyan's gold minute, an unnecessary risk thrown on the State, but a change of rule demands a prior change of the paper currency law.—The position of the Mint-master as Currency Commissioner, is exactly parallel to that of the Superintendent of Stamps.

Certain general acts of Government too lend to it a semi-commercial character. It acts as a banker, for it receives certain deposits and makes certain remittances, and as an agent, for it guarantees to certain persons that certain payments shall be made on their accounts. Speaking generally, we may say that this character might, with advantage to the State, be wholly laid aside; yielding to the necessities of its position,† it has, ever unwillingly, accepted deposits, often issuing to its servants strict injunctions to place as few sums in deposit as possible. The head is too convenient, like the sundries of a school-boy's cash book, and may be suspected to cover many of those secret funds the wealth of which Mr. Thomason is said to have regarded as a test of the efficiency of a Collector, and which will never cease to exist till Collectors can be made to see that they are guilty of criminal breach of trust in incur-

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\* Judging from the Mint returns of 1862-3 this grant of certificates payable at sight, on assay of bullion, causes a loss of ten lacs a year. From the same returns the seignorage, at two per cent., seems to yield twenty lacs, or seventeen and a half lacs net. English seignorage is six per cent., and the Indian is rather a moderate charge for cost of manufacture. The bullion merchant has no exceptional claim to consideration that his import only should be sold at once without being put into a shape to suit his market. The question is simply, who shall pay interest on the value of his raw material while it is being manufactured, for he may have the out-turns of his own bullion in coin on a certain day if he please to import it sooner. At the same time of course he may fairly demand that due care be taken to avoid needless delay, and probably the best plan would be to make the mint certificate payable a fixed number of days after date.

† Of course our remarks on deposits bear no reference to the Saving's Bank, which Government founded in the first instance for the benefit of all its servants.



ring an outlay, though it seem to them never so necessary, for which sanction has not been, and is not likely to be, obtained. These accounts too leave most room for, and most temptation to, fraud; no labour is more simple than that of keeping them while up to date, but this very simplicity makes them most likely to be laid aside in any sudden pressure; while the drudgery and difficulty of setting them right when fallen into arrear can scarcely be conceived. But it is not easy to see how showing deposits in a personal ledger would simplify or improve matters, while the nature of the case makes the proposed charge or deposits improper. If indeed monies paid into court stand in deposit by the carelessness of the decree-holder, a fine might be exacted from him; but how of the many sums impounded by government as guardian of law? The action of the Court of Directors in forbidding consolidation was an undoubted mistake; but beyond consolidating old, and crediting petty items, the present system can be improved only by making no part payments; if for any reason it be impossible to repay the whole of a deposit at once, the balance should be treated as a new deposit.

As a remitter government uses three instruments; money orders, bills of exchange, and specie. The grant of the first of these, on the English plan, is one of the few businesses in which the State can with advantage engage; it so affords to its subjects, at a low rate, a convenience which possibly they could not otherwise obtain at all. Simple as is the business, one purely of remittance, to be accounted for, the accounts of the Bengal office seem to have been evolved from the moral consciousness of the late controller; but check would probably be easier if there were three fixed charges, as in England, instead of an accurate percentage. Again instruments in use of the nature of bills of exchange are three, public and private transfer receipts, and supply bills, or bills of exchange proper. The first are of course objectionable as giving trouble to treasuries, and the prohibition of cash payments between departments must largely diminish their number; whether proportionate labour will be saved or any other advantage gained is doubtful. It is necessary to secure that every debit have a corresponding credit in some other account; but while the remittance by service receipt secured that the adjustment had been made and the charge noted against the head of service to which it properly pertained, it may now become necessary to write for detail of the date, the account, and the head of charge. For the second little can be said; the rules for the grant of privilege transfer receipts are not equal; while, for instance, Bombay can draw them on the Punjab, Bengal cannot; they are costly to the State, as in the

instance just given; they cause much trouble, and afford to government servants an unnecessary convenience which they unduly prize. Still, though they should be granted more freely in the ruder than in the more civilized districts, they should nowhere be wholly refused; month by month every officer might obtain one for any fund subscriptions he has to pay, and one for general remittances to the head-quarters of his Presidency; and when removed to a new station might obtain one drawn by his old treasury on his new one, and a moderate number at his new station drawn on the treasury of his old. The third class are a substitute for specie remittances, and are granted only when by their means a distant treasury can be more easily and cheaply replenished.

Lastly Government acts as an agent in making and banking certain provident deductions from the salaries of certain servants. In the case of the Uncovenanted Service Fund there is less to object to, as the contribution is voluntary, and could be remitted by the payer by means of a privilege transfer receipt: but the case of those funds to which men are compelled to subscribe is different, and Government can only be wholly rid of its connection with them by guaranteeing certain allowances on its own part, and leaving men to manage their own affairs. There is too much of this parliamentary prudence, and the objections to such a plan become specially strong when, to the grumbles of the careless, who had rather spend than save, are added those of the provident man who thinks the investment bad. Thus for instance think most of those civilians, who think at all of the matter, of their Annuity Fund, and Government might well rid itself of embarrassment by letting those who wish cease to be burdened on that account.

Before passing to the general question of forms of account, the Commissioners speak separately of accounts of receipts. Their general complaint is that all that is received may not be credited, and that the Accountant can only see that what is credited is credited to the right head. And their complaint is true even of land revenue, the receipts of which alone they think the Accountant can check; for though he may see that what the State demands is credited to the State, he cannot say that the numerous grades of underlings have not each been gratified by the ultimate atoms whereof the State consists. And surely this is a question of the goodness of the general administration, rather than of the financial, least of all of account. They say that in Russia every rouble paid into the treasury represents fifty swallowed by the men who gathered it, and that some are



not sure that the Czar himself does not 'take;' but the Russian system of account may be as good as that of a country where even railway porters refuse presents, and there are omnipresent Audit boards to which school-boys submit vouched cash accounts of their weekly shillings and store accounts of donated marbles. The fact is you must trust some body; you cannot make a man honest by Act of Parliament; and in a country where even tell-tale presses cannot be trusted, you must put up with such honesty as can bear so hot a sun. The machinery of demand notes and counterfeit receipts numbered like bills of exchange, is probably the best that can be devised; it should make fraud very unprofitable, by making the sharers in its proceeds many, and in many cases absolutely impossible. But one fears that a demand note would represent so many pice paid to the writer. Whatever be the paper tendered with cash, the treasurer should sign and number it, and not file it as the Commissioners propose, but pass it on to the department it concerns, giving in exchange a receipt, the particulars of which would be noted on the counterfoil; from this counterfoils these receipt ledger would be posted, and the necessity for keeping the series of numbers unbroken would prevent the suppression of a receipt altogether; the necessity of filling the counterfoil up at once would prevent any well considered less-entry, and the departmental accounts should be a further check. By filing the demand note, or like paper, in the department, fraudulent alteration would be prevented, due credit would be given to the payer,\* a certain voucher would be available if refund were necessary, and the file of a case would often be completed; if a magistrate fine a man, the receipted demand note would complete the case just as the endorsed warrant of imprisonment does. To take a case in illustration. The Income Tax Daroga of paragraphs 95,96 would have to account for a certain number of tax papers; when remitting money he would advise his chief, who would presently receive and file the detailed invoice covering the remittance; at the end of the month the darogah's accounts would reach his chief vouched by the treasurer's or tehsildar's receipts, exchanged for the invoiced coin; the departmental monthly accounts prepared from the invoices should agree with these separate ones and also with the Collector's books; so many people would be concerned and of so different interests, that fraud would be difficult and unprofitable, and besides there would be little time to 'cook' such returns. And the details

\* If money were paid into a sudder, instead of a tehseel, treasury, the same paper would be passed on as advice to the tehseeldar.

of the invoices need not pass into the accounts, they might be so framed as to give any information which might be wanted for statistical purposes; and even to rival the Commissioner's favourite return in eighty columns.

But whatever may be the plan of checking and accounting for receipts, the most important part of the Commissioner's report concerns the check and account of expenditure, and the most important question is that of pre-audit. To the Commissioners pre-audit is only a nuisance to be abated; to the typical Civil Paymaster it is what the Revolution of '88 is to Earl Russell; and both are equally wide of the truth. Its advantages are wholly practical. By its abolition 'responsibility will be made to fall on those who should bear it;' but who are these? Collectors with fifty other businesses at least as important, each ruling a district as large as half a dozen of our little colonies in the West Indies, with interests as various and revenue far greater. Pre-audit is nowhere part of the original plan of account, but as a distinct officer's labour became more complex, when to the original labour of collection only were added those of settlement and police charge, as the closer organization of the Government service made more numerous the cases which were met by special rules, an officer was appointed who might be the professional adviser of all district officers, on all matters of rule. It may be that in course of time officers may have placed too much dependence on this adviser; it may be that rules may admit of simplification; but an assertion that both evils are now at the worst seems a strange prelude to a recommendation to take away the professional advice. That medical science is abstruse, that disease is rife, and that people trust doctors, would make up a strange argument for the dismissal of doctors. That 'in cases of doubt or difficulty reference can be made to headquarters,' is not the panacea the Commissioners seem to think; the very cases in which most doubt should be felt are such as to give some underling an interest in concealing their weak points, and the violent contests with Civil Paymasters show that the common form of ignorance is for a man not to know what he thinks he knows well. That the Collector is not banker merely, but accountant to other independent officers, does not make the case simpler; he is safe when he only pays on audited bills, but if a payment he may have made on the demand of a judge be held improper, how shall he adjust his accounts? It is easy to say the judge will refund it on demand, but the judge may not be prepared to confess that he was wrong; and though there were no possibility of this kind, the experience of military paymasters does not show cash recoveries to be easy. If it come to



counting experiences, set against the clean swept Post Office, the Telegraph Department accumulating in two years of post audit, outstanding accounts which it showed as six lacs, and the Accountant-General as twenty-four, and against Burmah set a case (and there is no need to name one) where accounts have been closed practically without audit, really because vouchers could not be found for audit. But indeed there is no need to argue the question of principle; the Commissioners concede that pre-audit is advantageous, that the check of an independent officer, chiefly learned in rules, over unpaid bills is beneficial, and so for Calcutta, where establishments are so large that each might afford an accountant with pay rules at his finger ends, where labour is so divided that no establishment could be concerned with all the rules, they provide an Examiner of Claims, who shall be for the Presidency Town just what the Civil Paymaster was, save that instead of passing a bill he shall give a cheque. Let us hope that the effect of this mighty change will be seen in the speedy clearance of the lamented eighteen months' arrears.

Still the principle is a sound one that the disbursing officer should be responsible for his disbursements, more able to contest a disallowance with the Accountant than willing to seek for the guidance of the Civil Paymaster. And without debating whether existing rules are such an undigested mass as to defy the study of any but Civil Paymasters, we may assume that they are practically unknown even to those who are made Treasury officers because fit for nothing else. The case too is the harder that no one quite knows where rules are to be found. No Presidency in India has a manual of pay rules whose authority is acknowledged. There is that most useful compilation by Mr. Eede, carefully prepared and almost exhaustive, accepted by most governments, but rejected by the Supreme, but its arrangement might be improved, and it is already half obsolete. This indeed is the main difficulty, which has kept the Military Pay and Audit Regulations a dozen years in hand, that a code is superseded even while it is being prepared. District officers are not advised of changes as they are made, and though they were would probably be unable to keep their manuals fully corrected; even Civil Paymasters do not seem to be always informed of all orders affecting as precedents, the rules they have to administer. Before making busy men personally responsible for administering a code, care should be taken if not that they know its rules, at all events that they know where to find them, and further that any change be at once notified to all. Therefore a code, rather than a digest, should be prepared on such a plan that general rules, constructions, and precedents

might be distinguished at a glance, and entrusted to a single officer through whose hands all correspondence might pass, that he might report the effect on any clause of any new order, and at frequent intervals circulate pages of corrected rules. As he might well be legal adviser and be charged with submitting, with all references, reports on existing rules and recommendations touching change, he would need to be closely connected with the Financial Secretariat, and his practical knowledge of the effect of every existing rule should be kept alive by his being somewhere charged with the checking claims before their admission in account. With such a manual, so authoritatively corrected up to date, one great objection to the abolition of pre-audit would be removed.

But the maintenance of pre-audit is not synonymous with the maintenance of Civil Paymasterships. A Civil Paymaster's duties stated briefly are (1) to audit bills; (2) to check expenditure by budget grants; (3) to report on claims to pension and leave; and (4) to furnish a general report on expenditure. The second of these duties was of course the child of the budget system, and has so far dwindled from its early threatening greatness that it gives no power and involves no responsibility, beyond that of advising the Accountant, what he should know still better, that a grant seems likely to be exhausted. For the third the name of Civil Paymaster has no magic power; the report cannot be spared, but is prepared from records, some of which must be kept by the Accountant that he may be able to audit charges, and the rest may be sent to him just as well as to the Civil Paymasters. The last too is compiled from records, and, if any Government ever used it, might continue to be furnished by the officer in whose hands the records might be. A careful examination of claims after the fashion of pre-audit will always have to be made, if after payment, yet before they can be admitted in account, by an independent officer of rank, or by the Accountant himself, himself, that is, giving such superintendence as is now demanded from the Civil Paymaster. Would it not be possible so to arrange as to get the benefits of pre-audit without its delays, and without fear of the needless double work which the Commissioners deplore? We hold that, were the number of Accountants moderately increased, it would be possible to maintain pre-audit for all charges really requiring it, till the new code had made rules so familiar that pre-audit could be spared altogether.

Two kinds of charges are audited by the Civil Paymaster; when dealing with one he has to see that it is a proper one, with the other only that it has not been paid before. Audit of



the latter is mechanical, and requires comparatively little supervision; such charges are rewards, special grants made once for all, which have only to be marked off on their orders, and pensions which are paid before audit on the production of descriptive rolls, a process so like that of payment on permanent orders that the only change would be that the checking, not the paying, officer would grant the general authority to pay,—an arrangement the more reasonable that the former knows better the date from which payment should commence. Such charges do not need pre-audit. In the class of charges requiring check, are numbered the pay of gazetted officers, of their establishments, and their variable charges. Every movement of gazetted officers is publicly notified, and must be noted by the officer checking the accounts; there is no fear of improper deduction from their pay, of improper redistribution of it, or improper expenditure of any savings from it. So there would be no risk in paying them on orders current for a year; and as on transfer they could draw pay at their new station only after the Accountant, advised of their arrival, had sent the counter-foil received from the old district, duly endorsed, such a plan would certainly not risk that transfers of charge would be left unreported. One absent on leave indeed might draw pay against rule, but the district officer would be running against what would doubtless be the plain letter of the pay order, and so could not pretend to be hardly used if compelled to refund; or a man might draw pay though he had been absent without leave; but if his morality be so low that he will skulk from work for which he is paid, and he be so determined to eat his cake and have it, to take a holiday which he cannot claim and then to demand one which the rules give only to workers, pre-audit has little power to keep him honest. Gazetted officers might be paid on permanent orders, payment being marked off on the Accountant's books as pension payments are; and without the charge for gazetted officers, most office bills become so simple that there need be little delay in their audit. For the system of permanent orders should not be extended to ministerial officers.\* There is need to check the payments claimed against leave only notified by the payer; there is temptation, to which some are said to yield,

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\* It is worth noting that the delays which the Commissioners charge to Civil Paymasters would not be prevented by the widest use of permanent orders; in the two cases they especially name, the permanent order would have been refused. Whatever would justify a Civil Paymaster in refusing audit, would justify an Accountant in refusing the permanent order.

to make arrangements convenient rather than regular; to issue many little permanent orders would multiply little charges in account and might diminish an officer's power, just as one general order might increase it. Complaint indeed is made that under the present system the pay of absentees lies in deposit; this apparently must be the case were pay drawn on one standing order; but in many places the pay of a man absent on leave would not even be shown in the bill, till he had returned and cried out for it. So bills for the pay of establishments should be pre-audited as well as those for variable charges. The Commissioners have great faith in the signatures and countersignatures of high officers. They quote an opinion, recorded by a Committee little likely, as they truly say, to be prejudiced against pre-audit, to the effect that the check of the countersigning officer may be far more effectual than that of the Civil Paymaster, nor is it possible to doubt the fact; the Civil Paymaster in checking a countersigned bill *ought* to have nothing to do but to check calculations. But does an average Commissioner of Division check the bills he countersigns at all? Renewing charges may be moderate or immoderate according as small or large charges on the same accounts have been passed in earlier months; an outlay which does not seem large may really be much larger than is found necessary elsewhere: countersignature then to have any value should be given after comparison with the charges of other months and other districts, and so should be recorded in detail in a general register: does our average Commissioner keep any record at all of the bills he countersigns? He specially has to vouch for the propriety of charges, and, therefore, if a questionable one be made, should refer it, demand explanation, and see that explanation is sent on with the bill; does he ask any questions; and if questions be asked of him, can he answer them? nay, does he do more than pass them on to the district officer and pass the answer back, without a word of comment, to the questioner? He should be the guardian of the public purse; does he, for instance, charitably throw on the State charges which in neighbouring stations are paid from charitable funds? Is, in short, the check of an inexperienced Civil Paymaster the only check\*

\* We can vouch for one instance of countersignature which is worth detailing. According to rules in force in a certain province, an officer annexed to his tentage bill a detail of stages which he totalled, showing himself to have travelled seventy-one miles in the course of nine marches and five halts and then claimed tentage for fourteen days; instead of signing a formal certificate that the officer was entitled to tentage for fourteen days, the Commissioner countersigned the bill for Rupees 71-9-5.



which most contingent bills get? 'No charge once countersigned is ever finally rejected', say the Commissioners; a Civil Paymaster's report on the fact and his explanation of such part of it as he admitted might be instructive. We therefore hold decidedly that pre-audit cannot yet be abolished, though it need not be demanded for many charges which now receive it, and hold too that had each Accountant but the accounts of one Government with proper support, he would be as well able to give pre-audit as post-audit to the charge for which he must account. But it would be better to bring audit nearer still by giving two Accountants to one Government than in any way to weaken desirable check; and this would be no more costly than the Commissioners' most objectionable plan of giving every Accountant a shadow. Officers are said now to be getting too fond of leaving their offices for months, from some fancy for being near the head of the Government; such a disease would only be stimulated by the appointment of a deputy of equal rank, when it should rather be cured by rendering impossible the absence, on any pretence, of the head of the office for a whole month at a time.

The gravest objection remains to be noticed, that the demand of pre-audit implies the possibility of expenditure without audit, of which the fruit is delay in adjustment and discrepant accounts of approved and of actual expenditure, 'expenditure passes into the unadjusted column of the monthly Accounts Current, and, as the adjustments are made on a separate statement, and not in the account itself, the expenditure remains in the unadjusted column, so that an annual account prepared from the twelve monthly Accounts Current would be entirely incorrect.' No objection could be more serious, though the very remedy the Commissioners seem to propose proves that pre-audit is not the cause of the disease. Apparently they would re-introduce the old inefficient balance system under the name of Advances Recoverable, so that a charge would pass into the accounts not when it was paid, but when formal vouchers could be furnished. Certain officers are to have the power of drawing on the treasury, but the issues on their demands are to be made on their responsibility (though the inexperienced Treasury officer may ask for instructions if he think a demand preposterous,) and charged, if the vouchers be not satisfactory, not to the proper budget head but 'to Advances Recoverable.' No items need be allowed to stay long under this head; under no system could there be any reason why, if not adjusted in three months, it should not be recovered in cash. 'The Collector might recover such an item from the Judge, but would he himself refund?' Of course when a man has

the actual custody of money, he is likely to allow to himself more latitude than he will to others; but if he choose to please himself, he must be brought to his own senses by suspension or penal transfer, by some process which will show every one that account rules are not merely decorative, but have to be obeyed like others. Such action might be unpopular, but if it be necessary it should certainly not be spared, though 'one of our best officers' have to be the victim, for a man who thinks he is held in esteem is likely to be the most insolently indifferent to all departmental rule, as such men have been found, at times, to all positive law. But care should be taken to make the entries under this head as far as possible, lest it become as unmanageable as 'Deposits;' and with this intent every office should be allowed a small permanent advance, about enough to cover its monthly contingent charges; an officer taking charge would claim the whole of this in cash or approved vouchers from his predecessor. The amount standing under 'Advances Recoverable' would vary so little from time to time that there would be no account objection to accepting the adjusted item of a year as representing its actual outlay; only we protest against the pretence that to change a name is to invent a new system, or to build up any argument against an old one.

Though the Commissioners have not generally overlooked any weak point in the present system, the limitation of their enquiries to Bengal has concealed from them an important one. They propose certain changes in arrangement for the estimates, but ask nothing about the way in which they are at present prepared. In the first instance of course they are prepared by the heads of offices, in the second by the Accountant; but how does the latter obtain his materials, and what is his responsibility? Under one Government they are examined and consolidated by the head of the department, and pass with his approval to the Accountant, under another they are sent to that officer direct: under one Government he uses the materials sent merely as guides, under another he merely compiles from them; in the one case the budget is his, though the Local Government may, if it please, prefer the departmental estimate; in the other the budget is departmental, though the Local Government may insert the Accountant's figures if convinced by his arguments. Such important differences of custom and principle should never have existed, and the plan now proposed seems in every way good; the Accountant in consultation with representative heads of departments, with the head of the Government for moderator if opinions differ, shall prepare for the Supreme Government esti-



mates representing the views of the Local Administration. These estimates should, of course, be in a form which will give plainly exactly as much information as is wanted by the Financial Department; and as a return from which to compile, leaving the reasons for every step plain, it would not be easy to improve the present budget form.

The rough estimates are to be prepared by the same persons as at present, save in one instance; those of Superannuation Pensions are to be prepared by the heads of departments instead of the auditor. The change is a mistake, for surely the estimates for all pensions should be prepared, or revised, by one person, and he the one who with least trouble is sure to be best advised of lapses. Nor is there any reason why a department, or even a Government, should watch its worn-out servants; the pension rules for all being the same, the charge of the superannuated will bear one fixed proportion to that of the effective establishment. The feverish jungles of Raipoor will have no heavier proportionate pension charge than the healthy uplands of Saugor; if they gave more retirements, they would give shorter lives. Besides, local departmental estimates would not exhaust the roll of superannuation pensioners; those of other Governments, *e. g.* an opium department pensioner in the North-West, would be excluded. Therefore let the pension estimates be prepared, as now, by the auditor, superannuation pensions being classed under departments, political under the provinces on whose account they are paid. This division however would be for statistical, not account, purposes; for the principle is certainly right that a Government should show in its own estimates all monies which habitually pass through its hands and with which it finally deals;—‘finally’ and ‘habitually’ for the North-West Government cannot estimate for the opium department over which it has no control, nor, on the ground that the Benares Raja was going to spend a year in Calcutta, should it leave the Bengal Government to provide for his annual stipend. No troublesome cross adjustments, however, even then would be necessary; these could be made by the Accountant-General when preparing his consolidated books at the year’s end. All charges paid on account of another province might be accounted for in the same way, for though a Government rich in hill stations should expect to pay others’ idlers, it should make provision only in a cash requirement statement. Every department in every province should provide for all charges to be incurred in any place on its account, but deducting, at foot, amounts not expected to pass actually through its hands, should take a grant for the net charge, though leaving the Supreme Government to show the gross in

the Imperial Budget. Month by month an Accountant would report to the Accountant-General that so much had been paid on account of such a department of such a minor Government, but otherwise each would deal only with the receipts and payments within his own province, leaving adjustments to be made in the Imperial Books.

Seeing that estimates are in the first instance to be prepared by district officers, it is not easy to perceive on what principle it is proposed that they shall send unclassified accounts. A tehsildar prepares no budget, receives only certain kinds of revenue, and makes few payments; that he may send a simple account current, therefore, is no argument for a Collector doing the same. All the items of which the classification can be doubtful are items which should have appeared in his own classified estimate; whatever payment he may make for a judge, he knows must go against F. III. though he may not be quite sure whether a charge of his own should go against F. IX. or F. X. Yet if he must distribute such charges in his estimate, why should he not in his accounts? The argument is that time will be gained; it will certainly be lost in the Accountant's office, for a chaotic cash account will be far more troublesome to the compiler than one even ill arranged; and it is doubtful whether time will be saved in the district office, for if its accounts be posted as they should be, daily, they may easily be posted under proper heads; if they are created at the end of the month, at all events the vouchers can be tied in bundles before. To allow the submission of unclassified accounts will be unprofitably to introduce an unsound principle. But here again the Commissioners are not consistent, for they will have receipts classified though not payments, and more strangely still they will have vouchers classified though not accounts. And these vouchers are to be distinguished by shade of colour, a distinction which experience shows to be the most unsafe; it is bad enough to have a multiplicity of forms, but worse when the pale blue form is to mean something quite different from the pale pink from which, by many eyes, it cannot be distinguished. Otherwise the recommendations touching vouchers are sound enough; forms for them should be printed, half English, half Vernacular, and both halves should be filled up at once; but the native accountant should be compelled to note amounts, if not in English figures, as many can, at all events in the easily learnt Persian or Hindi.

But it is time to trace the accounts from their genesis in a tehsil to their *nirwana* in the Accountant-General's cellar. The tehsildar, *quoad* Government revenue, has purely mechanical duties; he may receive money tendered by certain persons, from



certain he is bound to collect so much, and he may pay only on special orders; his payments indeed may be treated as virtual remittances: these simple transactions are to be brought on the general books as soon as advice of them reaches the Sudder; this plan has been already tried, and is said to have failed unaccountably. Still on the main points connected with tehsil accounts, there can be no difference of opinion; they cannot be too simple, and must be in the vernacular. Questions touching the Sudder accounts however are wider, and there is less agreement. Besides their novel proposal to substitute a day book for the present ledger account, the Commissioners hanker after purely English accounts; speaking of the common system of treble accounts, 'it has been affirmed,' they say, 'that this repetition of each entry acts as a check on the correctness of the accounts; but the same labour devoted to a more complete set of accounts in one language, that is, in English, would be more to be depended on.' It is very doubtful whether purely English accounts can be introduced with any hope of success till respectable natives are generally bilingual; at present an English clerk on Rs. twenty is generally a lad of seventeen, or a dolt who cannot be trusted even to copy a letter. If for the native accountant were substituted an English clerk of equal intelligence, his pay would be four times as large, and he would be always striving to get away to some better post. But it would surely be possible to utilize the various accounts, making each fill the place of some one of the common set of English mercantile books. The treasurers of course would be the cash book; the invoices accompanying cash would pass with his signature to the department concerned, but through the hands of the native accountant that he might note them in the journal,\* and at night might compare his entries with the tehsildar's counterfoils of receipts; orders for payment would reach the treasurer through the native accountant after entry by him, and from the treasurer would return to the treasury clerk, who might at once enter disbursements under their proper ledger heads. At all events, at the close of the day, when the treasurer's cash book is totalled and closed, and the native accountant's journal with an entry of 'advances recoverable,' adjusted and outstanding, and of cash balance, and the results compared by the treasury offices, the treasury clerk would be able to post his ledgers, the receipt side from the treasurer's counterfoils, the disbursement from the vouchers, then, if not before, translated.

\* Of course the name 'journal' must not be taken strictly; it is not a true mercantile journal any more than the English clerk's is a true ledger.

the English side of the voucher would, however, probably be filled up when the order for payment was being prepared, so that disbursements would be posted as soon as made. There would thus be in the office three sets of accounts, based indeed on the same authorities, and giving the same results, yet not the same in form, nor containing the same entries, two of which would be compared daily with one another, and with the third as often as the treasury officer chose to abstract the totals of the ledger heads. The entries of the cash account and the journal would not tally, because the treasurer would know nothing of adjustments: if a Commissioner were to draw money on an insufficient voucher, the payment would appear in the treasurer's cash book once for all, but by the native accountant and the treasury clerk it would not be charged against Government, but against the Commissioner under Advances Recoverable; when the imperfection of the voucher was supplied, the original payment would be marked off, credit given *per contra* under the same head, and thus, for the first time, would the payment appear under its proper head of account. As the Treasury officer should initial the English ledgers daily, at the end of the month a simple transcript of them would form the classified monthly account for the Accountant; there would be no more time spent in copying a ledger than a journal.

It is not very easy to detail the steps whereby the chaos of the unclassified Account Current is to be reduced to the order of provincial ledgers. Early in the month a bundle of vouchers is to be sent in and examined, that the incomplete ones may be returned, and at the end of the month the rest of the vouchers are to come with the unclassified account: the plan of sending vouchers apart from the account is questionable. Then the vouchers are compared with authorities, and defective ones being rejected and their corresponding items struck out of the account, the accepted vouchers go to the detailed book-keepers, the corrected account to the 'Treasury Account Examiners.' From these independent authorities the two departments prepare, *pari passu*, detailed classified books, which they abstract daily; their abstracts, showing work done, should correspond, and if they do, from them shall be compiled the Cash Book, Journal, and Ledger. This is what we believe to be the Commissioners' real plan; if their words be construed strictly, the examination of vouchers is merely to for form's sake, and the audit, the comparison with authorities, is to be made by the detailed books, even after the daily abstract is made; but as the natural plan is evidently to make audit the first step, and to effect it by the vouchers, and as the other plan would necessitate alteration



of the books and abstracts of two departments, this can hardly be their intention; to have a second comparison between authorities and entries in the detailed books, would be to do the work twice over, as it is said to be done now. In this plan there are several weak points; the daily comparison can only be carried out if two departments can compile accounts at an equal rate from loose vouchers and from a chaotic catalogue of those vouchers; the records would consist of (1) bundles of accepted vouchers; (2) received from the district office, catalogues prepared in the district office of those vouchers, in full detail but unclassified; (3) detailed books compiled by the Accountant, containing exactly the same items in full detail but classified; (4) 'treasury account examiners' books', also prepared by the Accountant, containing exactly the same items in exactly the same detail in exactly the same order; (5) daily 'abstract of detailed books,' with its counterpart; (6) the daily 'abstract of treasury account examiners' books;' on these daily abstracts would be built (7) the Cash Book; and they would every month be consolidated into (8) the monthly abstract, which would be the foundation for (9) the Journal; and (10) the Ledger. We cannot think a Cash Book and Journal, in true mercantile form, absolutely necessary for Government accounts; and accounts which may show the exact daily transactions, for the whole province would be of no use, while the double sets of books in full detail would be of use only to cumber the Accountant's shelves.

As we urged that the demand of classified accounts from district officers need cause neither difficulty nor delay, it is necessary briefly to detail the method of consolidating such accounts in provincial books. When the month closed, transcripts—which might have been written up day by day—of the ledger pages would be sent to the Accountant, accompanied, each by its own bundle of vouchers, and by an abstract showing the total under each head. The vouchers which had not already been marked off in the audit department would be sent to it, and when they returned examination of the accounts would proceed, the items whose vouchers were rejected being first of all struck out. Items found charged to a wrong head would be transferred, and at last a memorandum of such transfers and of charges rejected, with the rejected vouchers, would be sent to the district officer. The corrected accounts would then pass to one set of book-keepers, the corrected abstract to another: the former would compile an account in as much detail as the budget estimates submitted to the Accountant, and this would be month by month checked with the account prepared from the abstracts,

which would be the preliminary advice to the Accountant-General of the general state of expenditure. From the detailed books would be compiled others in the same detail as the budget estimate submitted by the Accountant, and these abstract books would be those sent to the Accountant-General. Any other Cash Book, Journal, and Ledger might be prepared from either the abstract books or the monthly abstract statements. The records on this plan would be (1) vouchers in bundles; (2) classified account sent with those vouchers from the district; (3) detailed books compiled from those accounts; (4) abstract books consolidated from the detailed books; and (5) check monthly abstracts compiled from those sent by district officers with their accounts. Here even the raw materials are classified, but the same work is nowhere done twice, the details of no two books exactly correspond, and from returns which give even names of payees and dates of payments by regular steps we reach a stage where nothing is shown but gross charges against sanctioned budget grants.

If there be room for doubt as to the steps whereby district are to be reduced to provincial accounts, the subsequent steps are still more obscure. The monthly abstract will warn the Accountant what grants are likely to be exceeded, what others can supplement the deficiency; but so long as transfers have to be made at all, it is hard to see how, by filing this return, the Financial Department will be saved keeping a register of transfers; the fewer they are the lighter the labour; but as the Accountant's abstract will show only the result of the transfers, the steps must surely be noted for check. The monthly abstracts will furnish material for the Annual Account, to be accompanied by a report explaining and defending expenditure in excess of grant. These annual accounts are of course to be consolidated by the Accountant-General into a general account for the empire, a task of little difficulty, as they will follow the estimate forms, and apparently show only what are now called major budget heads. And in the same account will appear the accounts with the Home Government. Now the mutual accounts remain for years unadjusted; charges belonging to the one Government remain debited to the other; it is proposed for the future that, month by month, accounts, under heads to be agreed on, be exchanged and posted immediately on receipt. We may hope, by the way, that the Secretary of State will audit the English Government's claims on the Indian; the two countries have not always been so well agreed touching their mutual burdens as to make one very eager to pay the Chancellor of the Exchequer's bill without scrutiny. These monthly accounts would be consolidated, with the annual accounts of the



minor administrations, into a general statement of the income and expenditure of the Indian empire. But would the Local Accountants furnish to the Accountant-General no other accounts, more systematic and more detailed? There is no hint of more being demanded, yet their ledgers can hardly be intended for their own shelves only.

There have been four great blots on the Indian system of account; the books have been imperfect, for receipts and payments in England have not been included; they have not been consolidated; they have been overloaded with useless detail; and they have been always in arrears. The monthly exchange of accounts between Calcutta and London will go far to remove the first blemish; though it be found that they at times require correction, it will be easy to correct by entries *per contra* far easier to correct than to create. The second will be removed simply by accounts being sent home by the Accountant-General only, so that the Home Authorities will store his abstract instead of huge detailed books for every Government. Of the third fault Indian accountants have often complained, declaring it to be one cause, if not the chief cause, of the arrears which they felt to disgrace them. The accounts sent to the Accountant must be in detail, for he has really to audit them, comparing the entries with the vouchers; but as the details of his return must be taken on his signature, and as too he is supposed to be too well trained and instructed to make a wrong classification, it is hard to see why his annual accounts need be in much more detail than his annual estimates. Any change must have had for its main object the removal of these four blemishes, increased rather than diminished by the existing system; and our main quarrel with the Commissioners is that they propose unnecessary changes which will cause confusion and delay.

Nor do the proposed changes in the departmental staff appear quite judicious. Abolition of pre-audit involves abolition of Civil Paymasterships, and the loss of these five appointments will not add to the attraction of a department which was near losing all its covenanted members when the sub-Treasurerships were abolished three years ago. But does a desire to retain these servants suggest the giving to each Accountant an efficient deputy? Rather it should suggest an increase in the number of independent Accountants. 'It is quite impossible at present for the Deputy Auditor and Accountant-General to make himself master and watch over the conduct of a great part of the business which is under his charge.' The work then of his office should be so reduced that he can master and watch the whole, rather than he should be tempted by the pre-

sence of his 'efficient deputy,' to rid himself of what may seem the less important portion, and be nominally held responsible for work he does not feel himself bound to check. Evidently most men would give to their 'efficient deputies' the work corresponding to existing pre-audit, and so far the plan may not be bad: though it be wrong to think that to check amounts charged is less important than to see them charged to the right head, at all events intelligent check and examination would be secured. According to his bent too the Accountant would use his 'efficient deputy' either to examine all treasuries or to stay in charge while he examined them; both plans would be equally objectionable, for the 'efficient deputy' could neither give final orders nor merely ask for instructions. And, again, would not such a plan foster the pernicious practice, which allows Accountants to spend months in the hills, four days' post from their records and their offices, seeing such papers only as their assistant may send? The plan should rather be to make the necessary absences of the chief, few and short, and to give to one man no more business than he can, himself, efficiently superintend; and both these ends would be best attained by lessening the area of charge. This might be done sufficiently by giving to each administration its own Accountant; but in an extreme case a province might have two such officers, each with his own circle, his own office, his undivided responsibility, each corresponding immediately with the Local Government and the Accountant-General, though, if necessary, the senior only might send figured statements, his junior's abstracts being blended with his own. But the 'efficient deputy' is not only to relieve his chief of excessive work, but to supply his place in case of absence on long leave. For this arrangement we can see no reason, but on the contrary think Lord Canning's provision for the transfer of officers after two years' service in an office not the worst point of the plan Mr. Laing abandoned. Though fully prepared to admit the weighty objections to a change of the efficient head of any office, yet we think the principle of maintaining a department really one, with real unity of system and complete subordination to one head, seriously imperilled by leaving an officer long at one station, even though the proposed alteration did not take much from the small prizes of the department by refusing promotion except on permanent vacancies. Were the heads of offices to be regularly and systematically moved, it would be impossible that any local variations of system could grow up, or, if already existing, could remain unchecked, or that any improvement of office management introduced in one office could be long unknown to others. And great as the evils of



change may be, they would thus be reduced to a minimum; a person coming anew to an office he had filled before, to administer a system with which he was familiar and which he had been administering elsewhere, would take up the work as though he had been but absent on short leave. And we cannot but think it a great objection to the proposed change that one man would be to-day the head of an office, having administered it for many months, and to-morrow a subordinate in the same office, under a chief who, however inclined to trust him, was yet responsible for having, and acting on, an opinion of his own. Nothing could add more to the difficulties of a new comer than having to command his predecessor.

We have carefully followed the Commissioners through their report, and, agreeing generally as to the disease, have as generally questioned their treatment. For this treatment is not uniform, yet makes changes in the present which are neither necessary nor advisable. Nor are indications wanting which might raise a doubt whether the condition of the patient has been fully appreciated. A surgeon treating a patient with all the appliances of a London hospital at his beck would not act, as he must in a station in the jungles, where he has nothing but his pocket case of instruments, some quinine and a drastic purgative; but the Commissioners, speaking too of vouchers as though they represented a definite amount of labour, compare the out-turn of a Bengali baboo's day with that of a man equal to the head of the office in knowledge and intelligence, and were he but exported to India equal too in cost. And though they scoff at the quantity of labour now wasted through disregard, as they confess, rather through observance of rule, and though they have taken laudable care to save the labour of book-keepers by simplifying accounts while increasing in a still greater degree the responsibility of district officers, they have not asked how they can ensure that the new orders shall be more regarded than the old. Arrears can only be prevented by securing that the English accounts be written up daily; it is as easy to do this with classified as with unclassified accounts, but in spite of many orders we believe there is not an office in India in which the English accounts are ready up to date. Simplicity is most important, indeed, in a system to be administered under so many difficulties, but no simplicity will keep accounts right, or prevent arrears, while officers are allowed to believe this their least important work. Indeed we read any proposals for improvement with a faint despair; each change only confuses those who were trying, and beginning, to learn the work, and gives those who were indifferent another argument whereby to

justify their indifference to themselves. A more radical change than one of rule is wanted, a change in the feeling of those who administer the rule. No volumes of general censures and governmental regrets would work this change so rapidly as practical proof of earnestness in a suspension, penal transfer, or denied promotion, whereof the avowed cause should be ignorance or neglect of rules of account. It has been said that the readiest way of making a fortune would be to buy the orders of a Local Government at a Mofussil price, and to sell them at a head-quarter price; and, to speak plainly, we think the Account Department is that which sets on its own orders the value most widely differing from that assigned by a district officer.

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ART. VI.—*Sailor Life in Calcutta.*

OF the value of statistics it is scarcely possible to speak too highly. They form the starting point of all political as well as natural science. They are to the political economist and the legislator what analysis is to the chemist. They enable him to disintegrate the several parts that compose the complex fabric of the society with which he has to deal, that so, with due regard to the existence and proportions of the many elements, he may promote the most widely the good of the whole with the least possible injury to any part.

Now, in India, we try our hands at political economy and at legislation. But how far are either based on reliable statistics? What do we really know of the peoples, and of the proportions in which these peoples form the heterogeneous body-politic? We are content to speak of our gross population in *round tens of millions*; and we can *guess* that a certain portion may be Mahomedans, and another portion Hindoos; and that suffices for general purposes. But of even the European community, that mere handful, as we often describe it, which constitutes the paramount power of the Empire—of its numbers what accurate information do we possess? No trustworthy census has, so far as we know, been taken; and, certainly, no analysis of any census exists which would give us any idea of the relative numbers of the different classes of which even this fractional part of the empire is made up.

Now we have no intention to embark on the wide ocean of conjecture (for such it at best would be) as to the general strength and the classification of our English community. We desire, by way of illustration, to take up one single class of that community, and to it we will confine ourselves,—the *Sailors* of the port of Calcutta. Nor do we claim accuracy for even the following calculations. We have been obliged to accept such information as we could obtain, (in every case obligingly placed at our disposal), and are only to be held responsible for the inferences we have drawn. Our object has been to arrive at something like an approximate number of the seamen of our port, with a view to the amelioration of their condition; and thankful, and amply rewarded shall we feel for a considerable amount of personal labour, if we shall only have created a healthy and useful interest in this class, and shall

have demonstrated, too, by the lamentable poverty of existing data, the necessity of some steps being authoritatively taken to devise and enforce some mode for a more exact preparation and careful preservation of such data for the future.

What then do the majority of the Calcutta public really know about poor 'Jack?' They only see him at a great disadvantage; for 'Jack ashore' is about as much in his element as a fish out of water. He scarcely does himself justice there. 'Only just see him in Flag Street,' some one will say—'only look at the papers, and see the hundreds of cases of 'seamen brought up before the Magistrates as "drunk and disorderly," or "for refusal of duty." Yes,—but we will leave this for the present, and come to it by and bye,—in the meantime, is he not a little prejudged? See him walking quietly (for him) along the Strand, and to the shore-going eye his very gait is suggestive of grog, and the conclusion is easily arrived at that every poor fellow who after some four months' incarceration on boardship gets leave for a day, and goes *rolling along*—because he has got his sea legs and not his land ones—is, as a matter of course, 'out for a spree,' if not already 'half seas 'over;' and the slightest ebullition of feeling his jovial heart may give vent to, (very improperly no doubt!) marks him down at once as a special object for police interference. Is this quite fair? Or, at least, because sailors will get drunk, and be riotous, or will refuse duty—very often not without cause—is it fair to condemn the whole class as a drunken, reckless, mutinous lot? Would you pronounce on the character of the water of a Calcutta tank by the scum on its surface?

One word at starting to guard against being misunderstood. There will be no attempt made in these pages to gloss over drunkenness, or to defend insubordination; but an endeavour will be made, in sea-loving sympathy, to present 'Jack ashore' in his true colours; and that, with an ulterior object of showing, not only what he is, but how he may be improved.

But to judge Jack aright, and to deal with him aright, we must have some *data* to go upon,—we must know something about him. And what do we know? Who can tell the number of seamen that annually enter and leave this port? Who can tell us how many get their discharge, and why? how many go to hospital, or to jail, or how many die?

Philanthropy is crying aloud that something must be done to help him. She demands that he be better housed on shore, better protected on board, better looked after in health, better tended in sickness, have a play-ground for amusement, an Institute for instruction, and a Chapel for devotion; and all honour to



philanthropy for the kindly thought of helping a class whose very condition, as mere birds of passage, renders it impossible for them to help themselves! But at the first step she is at fault. She cannot discover how many seamen she has to take under her maternal wing. She goes off to the Marine Office, and she is told the Master Attendant takes cognisance of ships—not sailors. She hurries to the Chamber of Commerce, to find that only cargoes are cared for—not crews. As a last hope she rushes to the Custom House, only to learn that nominal rolls are not compulsory, and, therefore, the very manifests are defective in this particular. She finds that there is simply *no Office* in which any reliable returns of seamen are kept—no source from which she can learn the very alphabet of that science which would enable her to help poor Jack while in port.

And common sense asks (with duly timid tones and modest suggestiveness) if it was thought necessary to keep till a year or two ago a century's growth of pay bills, vouchers, and certificates, &c., '*et hoc genus omne*,' in triple and quadruple form, which by no possibility could be of any use, to fill cellars, line passages, and crowd upper rooms and verandahs with ponderous tomes of these useless records under useless Record-keepers with secretarial conservatism, why was never a thought bestowed on applying the boasted arithmetical gifts of a few supplementary Bengalee Baboos on utilising some at least of the information which those Offices might have furnished, as statistical knowledge for coming generations of philanthropists and legislators?

Report has spoken of the formation of a 'Statistical Commission.' To make it any more than a sham:—to make it really useful, let official returns be prepared with such accuracy, and so statistically arranged, that the Commissioners may have some data to go on, some exact reliable tabular information to deal with.

But to return to our sailors. That very little positive information can be gained regarding them from existing office returns, is surely to be deplored. We do not pretend to have made a new discovery in the fact that statistics are sadly at a discount in Calcutta. Here is the statement of a writer who has devoted much time to the consideration of our sailor population. Dr. Norman Chevers says (Preservation of Health of Seamen, Calcutta, pp. 38-39) — 'I have been at considerable pains to ascertain at what rate the seamen frequenting the Port of Calcutta die. At present I am not able to do this with sufficient accuracy, because I have not succeeded in finding out what the average strength of Europeans manning the

'ships in port is.' He might have as truly added, 'or the actual number that enter the port.'

As the real value of any calculations (not to dignify these by the name of statistics) depends much on the source from whence they have been drawn, and the processes by which they have been arrived at, it may be well, at the risk of being prolix, to state at the outset on what authorities and by what principles we venture to offer, as proximately correct, the following figures, which are the results of our personal research in the several offices in which the information required was to be obtained.

The starting point of our proposed investigations is this. What is the probable number of seamen who in any given time, say one year, enter and leave this port? Take the last commercial year from May 1st, 1863, to April 30th, 1864.

The Chamber of Commerce gives us a total of 1,216 ships, according to the annexed table, as having entered the port during the year.

*NUMBER of Ships entered inwards in the books of the Chamber of Commerce between 1st May 1863 and 30th April 1864.*

	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	January.	February.	March.	April.	TOTAL.
British .....	50	69	74	63	92	129	62	72	92	93	53	89	938
American .....	13	4	8	10	3	5	7	1	4	6	6	9	86
French .....	6	3	16	23	8	15	7	11	11	18	16	8	142
Other Conti- nental States }	6	2	1	6	8	8	1	8	8	6	4	2	50
Total ...	75	78	99	102	111	157	77	92	115	123	79	108	1,216

The Custom House returns show 1,143 ships sailing with European crews. The two tables, placed side by side, will give the following results :—

	According to Cham- ber of Commerce.	Custom House.
Under British Flag ...	938	862
„ American ...	86	91
„ French ...	142	143
„ Other Continental	50	47
Total, ...	<u>1,216</u>	<u>1,143</u>



The slightness of the variation between the number of the American, French, and other Continental States in these two offices, in itself shows that we are near the mark; for the records from the two offices are perfectly distinct. The difference of 72 in the number of British ships admits of the simplest solution, as representing the number of ships sailing under British colours but carrying lascar crews. Then, this latter number of 1,143 is singularly confirmed by the testimony, again independent, of the Marine Office, which gives 1,140 as the number of European manned ships entering the port. We feel, then, that we have made good our footing on this first step of our ladder of calculations. 1,143 ships may be taken as representing the exact number of those that have entered this port with European and American crews.

Now of these 1,143, only 683 have filed nominal rolls of crews on the Custom House manifests. These 683 represent 11,729 sailors, which would give an average of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  men per ship; and by applying the same average to the remaining 450 ships, which have not entered their crews on their manifests, we have the further number of 8,049 men, making a total of 19,728 on the 1,143 ships. But, by general consent, this is far too low an average; 25 and even 30 being roughly given as nearer the mark. This average certainly will not stand the test of comparison with the *rating* of the ships. The registered tonnage of these 1,143 ships, according to the Custom House returns, amounts to 9,16,051 tons; and these at the rate of three for every 100 tons—and even the patent reefing apparatus introduced into some of the ships, would not so reduce the number of hands as to materially disturb this average—would give 27,480 men. This calculation, moreover, is corroborated by the Register of the Surveyor to Lloyd's, Veritas's, and other Insurance Offices; and it should be borne in mind, that a special weight attaches to these returns, as any master sailing short-handed would risk his policy in the event of loss at sea. 100 British ships, taken consecutively on the Surveyor's Register, give an aggregate of 2,342 seamen, or an average of about  $23\frac{1}{2}$  men per ship; 85 American ships give 1,569 seamen, or an average of  $18\frac{1}{2}$ ; and French ships give 464 men averaging 14 each.

Accepting these rates.

862 British ships, averaging	$23\frac{1}{2}$ per ship, give...	...	20,257
142 French do.	14 do. „ ...	...	1,988
50 Other Continental States	14 do. „ ...	...	700
86 American	$18\frac{1}{2}$ do. „ ...	...	1,587
			<hr/> 24,532

To these must be added the crew of 104 ships lying in the river on the 1st May 1863, which, at the same rates, will represent 2,444 men. Then there were already on shore, in the Sailor's Home 112, at the several boarding houses of Flag Street, about 100 (for this is the maximum of accommodation they can give); in the Jail, in the Medical College, Presidency General, and Howrah Hospitals, probably 250 more; say 460 in all on shore.

But for our subsequent calculations deduction must be made of the seamen returned in Peninsular and Oriental steamers, which are included in the foregoing tables; for while on shore, whether sick or sound, they are so admirably cared for on the Company's own premises, that they will not come under review in our subsequent investigations. Now these amounted during the year to 998 men; but as the *Carnatic* and *Rangoon* brought out full European crews, of these, 42 men who were in excess of the average ships' companies, obtained their discharge on arrival. So that a deduction of  $998 - 42 = 956$  must be made; and this will have about 26,500, by the following process:—

Seamen on ships in the river, 1st May 1863	...	2,444	
„ Entering during the year	...	24,532	...
„ Less those remaining in P. and O. Service	...	956	...
			23,576
On shore	...	...	460
			26,480

So our second step brings us thus far. About 27,500 European and American seamen entered this port during the year.

Now our first visits on shore, like Jack's too often, must be to the Government Shipping Office, and to the several Consulates; and the result of the information gained there will be best understood by the accompanying Abstract\* which shows that there were—

	Discharged.	Deserted.	Re-shipped.
At the English Shipping Office	4,418	101	4,476
„ American Consulate	469	302	294
„ French	0	20	15
„ Other Continental States—	19	3	22
Total,...	4,906	426	4,807

\* By which so far as these returns may be relied on we find that the seamen who leave the port are fewer than those who enter it, and that in American ships 771 have been discharged or have deserted against 291 re-shipped, and 186 sent home 'sick' or 'distressed.'



Now, of these 26,500 seamen, probably ninety-nine out of every hundred had signed articles for the voyage *out and home*, or else for two or perhaps three years' cruise, and yet we see that while in port, 5,332, or above one-fifth of the whole number of them find their way to the Government Shipping Office or their Consulate, and succeed in getting their discharge. There are undoubtedly instances in which the articles are signed only for the voyage out; such as a new steamer, or an English built tug, brought out by an English crew, who, their work done, by agreement take their discharge. Occasionally, too, in a ship chartered for country trading, the whole English crew are replaced by lascars. But these are comparatively rare instances; whereas the number of seamen who claim their discharge on arriving here, is a startling and gravely suggestive fact; one-fifth of the whole!

The endeavour to offer an explanation of the phenomenon may bring to light some few facts coming under the head of 'things not generally known.' Take a ship just in from New Zealand or Sydney or any of the Australian ports. Her master has shipped his crew there at £5 or £6 or even £7 a month, and finds that, according to Calcutta rates, he can get three men here for every one he took there. Now a master with a kindly heart as well as a calculating head will buy out such men with a present of half a month or a month's wages in excess; and Jack tempted with the sight of 'the ready' will walk off amicably to the Shipping Office, and take his discharge 'by mutual consent.' But should this milder or more gracious process not meet the master's views, a little extra work, a little stinting of food and water, a little gentle abuse, or perhaps rope's-end liberally applied, calls up the spirit of discontent and complaint, which grows into resistance, and is soon denounced as insubordination. Then comes the threat of irons or the House of Correction, and many a naturally quiet and orderly, though independant-spirited, and hot-tempered, tar pays dearly for his folly by having to accept his discharge, minus, it may be, a large slice of his pay, to avoid the alternative of disgrace which now stares him in the face. It is worth while to get rid of an Australian shipped crew in Calcutta: and this is one source from which Calcutta gets discharged seamen.

Other motives also come into play; while in port Jack is rather an expensive property. Yards once squared and all made trim, there is no reefing, no furling, little or no holy-stoning; cargoes are generally cleared out or shipped by the stevedore and his coolies; and Jack's services are not so much in request. If the crew can be weeded on arrival, and a new crew shipped

in time for sailing, the ship's balance sheet will present a good appearance, and the Master gets his percentage on all he saves. Inducement No. 2—and Calcutta gets the refuse.

Again, by what law or on what principle it is we cannot divine, but on the pretence of *exchange* it is the custom on many ships that every seaman paid off in Calcutta loses *two annas on each Rupee* of his wages. For every man left in Hospital or in Jail when a ship sails, the wages in full are credited by the Shipping Master; but for every man paid off (we speak of course only of some ships) each rupee, as it passes from the Shipping Office through the Master's hands, undergoes this 'sweating' process. Now two annas in a rupee on wages of a three or four month's voyage is worth saving.\* We do not find that this two annas in the Rupee is transferred to the Agents; we do not hear that it is credited to the owners. This undoubtedly helps to swell the number of discharged and discontented seamen in Calcutta.

Nor must it be forgotten that, besides these, a very large number of seamen are thrown on our streets under a different name, that of *deserters*, but who are simply men who by 'mutual agreement,' get free of their ships without the trouble and formality of a discharge. The returns supplied to us show that this custom prevails far more with American ships, for against 469 discharged there appears no less than 302 *deserters*; whereas in the Government Shipping Office the numbers are 4,957 discharged and only 101 deserters. The anomalous position of some foreign Consulates no doubt explains much of this; the Consul himself has no jurisdiction over the seamen after they have left the ship; and the American Master is not over-ready to lodge a complaint before the Consul, for, while by American law the master is obliged to deposit three months' pay at the Consulate for every seaman discharged, or to ship another American at once, he finds it a much simpler and cheaper plan to let a man go about his business and then return him as a *deserter*. This tacitly recognised immunity from legal penalties opens the door to much evasive discharge of crews; and confers on Calcutta the benefit of a large portion of the scum of the sea-faring population.

Let it not be thought that we are insinuating motive unjustly and unjustifiably. We are stating facts, and the above inferences present the only solution we can offer of this phenomenon. Ships shall come in and pass out without changing a man; unless some poor fellow be left in hospital too ill to sail.

\* Two annas only in the Rupee have been spoken of above, because this is the ordinary rate of deduction, but occasionally this is exceeded. Only a few weeks after the cyclone, the writer of this heard of a Master who was going to deduct *four annas*, on being confronted and threatened with exposure the crew were paid in full.



Of their thirty or thirty-five men not one shall ask his discharge, not one desert, not one appear in the police court; while in other ships moored perhaps alongside one-half shall seek to be free of their articles, to escape from their ships at any price, even through the ordeal of the police court. If then we find eight or ten men from a single ship put in the lock-up for refusal of duty or for demanding their discharge on grounds of bad fare or bad usage, content to suffer the loss of wages and even the indignity of the jail, rather than return to their duty, how else can we explain it? How else account for so great a contract between the one ship and the other? It is absurd to suppose that one ship is manned with angels, the other with fiends. The manning of a ship is always a matter of chance and of risk. The best ships generally have a nearly entire change of crews for each voyage; the petty officers may remain, but the mass of the ship's company are if we mistake not new each time. How then we again ask, can we account for this great difference? As a rule, the master or in some cases the chief officer, is the maker of his crew; and masters and chief officers must forgive us for saying that firmness and justice with consideration will as a rule make a much better crew than short commons and abuse, the rope's end and irons. It is at least worth trying, and Calcutta would benefit by the experiment.

Nor must we overlook one external influence which appears to have unchecked and unrestrained sway in this port; the lodging house runner, *touter*, *crimp*, or by what other name he be known. Take your stand on the quay at the London or Liverpool or Bristol Docks, and you will recognise many a specimen of this baneful class. But there the ship's deck is sacred from their tread. Although the voyage is over with the ship's entrance into the river or the dock, and the articles of agreement have become so much waste paper, and every seaman is from that moment his own master, while you will see the Agent or the visitor from the Sailor's Home going freely on board, not a *crimp* or a *touter* or a runner dares to set his foot on the deck. Whereas here, though the voyage is but half over, and there should be no need of boarding house, the *crimp* has free access to many a deck, and is permitted to sing the praises of his boarding house, and the glories of Flag street. These are the decoy ducks to the meshes of Calcutta, these are the pilot sheep to the shambles of Bow Bazaar! There they lead men to be drugged, and plundered, and ruined—they having their head-money on every victim. 'At our door' (said one of this body in his dying moments to the writer of these lines) 'at our door

'lies half the vice and misery and disease and death that befall 'the seamen in this port.' Yes; these are they that help to fill our House of Correction, our Hospitals, and our Grave yards!

We ask then are the circumstances of this port so superior, the tendencies of this climate so much more healthy, is the moral atmosphere of Calcutta so much more pure, that the precautions which exist in every English port, the restrictions which there protect in some degree these impulsive reckless 'children 'of the sea' are here unnecessary? If not, in the name of common sense, and of morality, and of humanity, let us have them applied and enforced!

It is not until too late that the poor victim learns the full price he has to pay for the luxury of the independence which a *punch ghur* or boarding house offers over the restrictions and the regularity of the Sailor's Home. The rate of weekly charge at the one may be but little more than that of the other, but by the time the runner or *crimp* has had his two rupees, and every bottle of brandy (so called by courtesy) has cost one rupee or even *two*; and five rupees have been charged on cashing a note, and five rupees on getting a ship,—to say nothing of the many more out of which the loafer-league have beguiled him,—poor Jack finds how miserably he has been duped, probably diseased—finds out how dearly in money and in health he has paid for his run ashore.

Can Government, really philanthropic and paternal at heart, rest content until something is done to protect Jack against these land sharks, more deadly than those he has escaped at sea? We can only hope that by the time our tale is all told, however imperfectly, enough at least will have been said to show the necessity of something being done, perhaps enough to point out some of the ways in which it may be best and most effectually done.

We have arrived thus far. Of the 26,500 seamen who have to be accounted for, about 5,300 have by discharge or desertion become part of the *floating population of the town*. In our subsequent calculations this distinction will as far as it is possible be kept in view; to speak in round numbers 21,000 will be regarded as the *river population* for the year, and 5,000 as seamen on shore; and the result of our inquiries into the future of these two classes, whether in the records of crime, or disease, or death, will assuredly help 'to point a moral' though they may fail to 'adorn a tale.'

Allusion has been made to the unenviable notoriety which seamen, as a body, have gained in this port among those who



glance only over the surface of their existence. 'Refusal of duty,' 'drunk and disorderly' are certainly not unfrequent headings of Police cases, and introduce us to scenes in which Jack too often plays the leading part.

Our first visit of enquiry would therefore naturally be to the Police Court itself, to see what the Police records tell us of Jack's life on shore. But unfortunately for the man of statistics, the Police records will give him *no information* at all. It has not been thought necessary to enter the particular description of each prisoner with such fulness as to admit of any classification of offenders. However, there are other sources of information tolerably reliable very near the Police Court. The worthy who figures in the morning under the charge of 'drunk and disorderly' or for 'refusal of duty,' has most likely been compelled to chew the *quid* of reflection, if not of repentance, behind the iron gratings of the *Lock-up*. So there we will go, and see what the Register can tell us of the number of seamen who have in the course of the year passed through this stage of 'durance vile' prior to presenting themselves before 'His Worship.' And thence we will adjourn to the House of Correction. And although, for reasons we will presently explain, the two returns are not to be read together, or be expected to tally with each other, they will materially help to show to what extent Jack has been really held responsible for disturbing the peace of Calcutta, or for still more heinous misdemeanours. And here we will begin to draw the distinction between the sailor that still belongs to a ship, and the one who is living on shore.

'How many of your drunken fellows (we said only lately to a group of Masters in a friendly chat) do you think have 'visited the Lock-up during the year?' 'Five-hundred,' said one; 'not less than a thousand,' suggested another; 'two thousand at least,' cried a third. And yet when pressed to think how many of their own ship's companies had appeared in that plight, they began to admit they were going a little beyond the mark. Now, reader, if you are a 'shore-going citizen,' you no doubt will say that of the ships' crews of this port not less certainly than the two thousand can have passed through the Lock-up; that on the 21,000 would be less than ten per cent. What will you say when we tell you—and we have ourselves most carefully examined the register—that there were exactly 365, at the rate of one man per night, or about one and two-third per cent. of the whole body of seamen in the river who were locked up on the charge of drunkenness! Not so bad as you expected! On the whole not so bad at all, considering Jack's temperament and his temptations.

Then of seamen on shore (where a broad distinction must be drawn between the *seaman proper*, though not belonging to any ship, and the mere *loafer*), there are 186 entries in the Register against the 5,000 'town-boys,' or three per cent. ; showing that the drunkenness and confinement of the seamen on shore is more than double that of those who are on the river. For *assault*, which so often grows out of drunkenness, the proportion, though somewhat less, is still sadly against the man on shore. But the third class of charge, *theft*, tells a melancholy tale how the idleness of shore life leads to graver crime ; among the 21,000 seamen on the river there are only 79 charges of theft, while the 5,000 on shore have produced 62, above one per cent. of their whole number.

The appended table will at a glance show the relative proportions and the gross amount of crime, under the several heads entered in the Register book of the Lock-up.

	Drunk.	Assault.	Theft.	Refusal of duty.	Absent without leave.
Seamen belonging to ships ... }	365	112	79	121	120
Seamen on shore ...	186	46	62	0	0
Loafers ...	77	16	41	0	0

We now pass on to the House of Correction ; and it will at once be seen why these returns must be regarded independently of those from the Lock-up ; for instance against the 551 charges of drunkenness against the seamen in the Lock-up Register, there appear only 35 commitments on this charge at the House of Correction. In the great majority of instances a warning or a small fine would be deemed sufficient for the offence. Then, on the other hand, many charges would come before the Police Magistrate without passing through the Lock-up ; on warrant for instance, or direct from the street, or the ship. So the two returns must be dealt with independently of each other.

Here we have the total number of seamen committed (both river and town population, for the distinction has not been drawn in this abstract between the two classes).



*Abstract of Commitments in the House of Correction.*

	Drunkenness.	Assault.	Theft.	Refusing duty.	Absent without leave.	Deserting.	Inability to pay fine.	House-breaking.	Having stolen property.	Suspicious loitering.	Riot and indecency.	Total.
Number of Seamen committed,	35	71	100	113	54	16	32	3	4	5	2	435

On the foregoing table a few remarks are necessary. Of these 4,35,422 were under sentence from the Police Court. Of the 113 committed for 'refusal of duty,' it appears that a large proportion belonged to the same ship, and comprised, in many instances, *re-committals* for repeated refusals. Again, the 32 cases of inability to pay fine cannot really be treated as distinct offences, but must be taken in connection either with an offence of assault or being drunk, and be regarded as an extension of the original committal. So that probably of the 435 committals there were not more than 350 actual offenders. Set this number against the 27,500 seamen in the port during the year, and the result is that of the whole sea-faring population of this port, about one and a quarter per cent. have been committed *for all crimes* to the House of Correction in the course of one year!

Our next inquiry will carry us to the Hospitals; and from the Returns obtained from them we have the following results:—

	Seamen Admitted		Recovered.	Died.
	From Ships.	From Boarding Houses.		
In the Presidency General Hospital	785	296	933	86
„ Medical College Hospital ...	431	599	891	110
„ Howrah Hospital ... ..	104	56	151	10
	1,320	951	1,975	206

From these figures, which we accept on the authority of the Hospitals themselves, one fact is clear, that the General Hos-

pital is much more resorted to by the sick on board the ships in the river, for the simple reason, doubtless, that it is more accessible from those lying along the whole range of moorings from Baboo's Ghat to Kidderpore; while, on the same principle, the Medical College Hospital, lying in the heart of the town, has received more than twice as many patients from among the sailors on shore than the General Hospital. But here a startling fact presents itself. The river population of 21,000 contributed only 1,320 cases to the Hospitals, about three per cent. of their whole number; while the 5,000 on shore sent nearly twenty per cent. or one-fifth of the whole. Again of that 5,000, close on 2,000 availed themselves of the Sailor's Home, and of that number 200 or ten per cent. went to one or other of the two Calcutta Hospitals; while of the remaining 3,000 who distributed themselves over the boarding-houses of Lall Bazaar, no less than 700 appear on the registers of these two Hospitals, or nearly twenty-five per cent. What a tale does this disclose! It is no exaggeration to say that drunkenness, disease, and death brood over the portals of Lall Bazaar.

And now, difficult as our task has been in each stage of this inquiry, the greatest difficulty, from the absence of reliable data, meets us at the end. On the calculations made by Dr. Chevers that ten per cent. of our sailor population die here every year, we ought to be in a position to show that of the 27,500 who entered the port during the past year, 2,750 had left their bones on this pestilential shore. Our Hospital returns only record 206 deaths—not one per cent! While the Police records would add but a few more to the number, and those not classified with sufficient accuracy to help us to any satisfactory conclusion beyond the fact that during the year 24 seamen were drowned, 6 died from accident, and 1 committed suicide.

We have then to end where we began. Oh that statistics were more appreciated in Calcutta! Then it might be possible to sum up the result of months of laborious research, with the compensating assurance that we had been able to throw some light upon a very hazy subject.

Two facts at least, let us hope, have been brought out; that the number of seamen discharged in this port is beyond all proportion to the number entering it, and that the number of sick from the foul dens of Flag street is more appalling still. It is *on shore* that Jack is in danger. Let his present facility of getting free of articles be at once stopped; and, when on shore, let him have a home, amusement, and instruction, by which both body and mind may be kept in health. Do not let him pass away from this shore uttering that withering censure that here



no man cared for his body or his soul. It is our intention to resume this part of our subject in a future number.

One word in conclusion. If we will only regard him, not as a *necessary evil*, a *moral nuisance*, and a *social pest*, but as a fellow man, we shall be much more disposed to do him justice. When men of educated minds and refined tastes and full purses have done their utmost to improve Jack's character by giving occupation to his mind, and a cheery home on shore, *and have failed*—then—but not till then—will they be justified in denouncing him as hopelessly degraded and irreclaimably vicious.

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ART. VII.—1.—‘*Englishman*’ Newspaper, November 12th and 19th, 1864.

2.—‘*Friend of India*’ ditto, December 1st, 1864.

A PORTION of the Article ‘Education in Bengal’ in our last number, was devoted to the consideration of the connection between education and morality. The article, and more particularly this part of it, has formed the subject of such very contradictory criticism, especially in the two journals referred to above, the commendation of the one being as unmerited as the censure of the other was virulent and absurd, that we have been induced to revert to the question in order to correct any misconception, and to define our meaning more fully and accurately.

In treating of the general effects of education in Bengal, it was impossible to overlook the supposed connection between its extension and the improvement of morality. That this improvement was the main end with many of its chief promoters cannot be denied; and the tacit assumption that it is the principal if not the only object of all, is so constantly made, that the educationalist is frequently confronted by the argument—‘What is the use of all the waste of money in education? I have been in the country twenty years or more, and I believe the natives were as good in every way before this fuss was made about it, and for my part I cannot say that I find them at all more moral than they were without it, on the contrary, if anything rather worse.’

This is the language on the lips of almost all the old residents in the country, and it has been repeated again and again in the daily press; in this conflict between the enthusiastic assertions of the friend of education that it *must* improve morality, and the confident reply of men of experience that it *has not done so*, the balance thus far appears so clearly to incline to the latter, that we could not avoid the conclusion that in fixing on this as the primary end and effect of education, its advocates had weakened and damaged its cause, and, passing over the true and proper grounds for its support, had rested its vindication on those which it was difficult, if not impossible to maintain.

It was as unnecessary to our argument, as it was far from



our intention, to endeavour to prove that education was conducive to immorality; though in attacks made upon the article it may have proved convenient to argue as if our statements that some considerations would, *if anything*, point to an unfavourable rather than a favourable effect, actually conveyed a deliberate conclusion on our part, that this unfavourable effect was provable or true.

The drift of our contention clearly and avowedly was, that it was a great error to put forward morality as the object and purpose of education, because there were no satisfactory reasons for believing that any close and intimate connection existed between them.

It is most essential that we should not be misunderstood in this; we distinctly disavow any wish or desire to assert that education is conducive to immorality. We contented ourselves with the general answer of 'not proven,' merely contending that the burden of proof lay with those who made the affirmative assertion. Our words were so explicit, that had not our meaning *been* misunderstood, it would have been impossible to suppose it could be so; we introduced the subject by finding fault with those who held that there was any *necessary* connection between such totally distinct things as education and morality; but had we argued that the effects of education were immoral, we should have been establishing a connection of the most palpably unsatisfactory description.

As, however, we were answering no definite or specific arguments, it was natural, if not necessary, that we should touch on the general and most obvious heads, in order to show that *prima facie*, at any rate, they afforded no grounds for the conclusion in question.

We contended accordingly, and surely with justice, that it was the slenderest and most fallacious of inductions to assume, that because Europe or England was more moral and at the same time more educated than India, the one was necessarily, or even probably, the cause of the other; for, were so loose an argument as that to be admitted, it would be easy to attribute *any* effect to *any* cause; yet we believe that with many persons this is, perhaps unconsciously, one of the principal and leading foundations for their opinion. If, however, it is abandoned, what remains to establish the connection in point? We almost exhaust the arguments, when we divide them into—*1st*, that which could be drawn from the actual experience of our present efforts in India; *2nd*, those which could be derived from the previous experience of mankind, in similar cases, and in other countries; and, *lastly*, those which might be based on an exami-

nation or analysis of the natural and tangible effects of a motive agent, such as education, or an object, such as morality.

As regards the first of these arguments, it is complained that we bring no proof that it is mere assertion; we are ready to bring all the proofs which the nature of the case admits of, but we certainly cannot poll all the Europeans and natives whose experience and habits of observation entitle their opinion to any weight, on the question whether, in their private lives, the educated inhabitants of this country are better than they were before they were educated; this must remain a matter of experience. We can confidently assert that we rarely if ever met a person who could speak to any manifest or palpable improvement, while we have met numbers who are ready confidently to state that there is no improvement discernible; in fact, we thought that there was on this point such a '*consensus*' of all disinterested persons, and the argument of no improvement was so generally employed as showing the folly and uselessness of education, that it was this as much as anything, which led to our contention that it was a mistake to set up the improvement of morality as its great end and justification.

If, however, the experience of any others is different in this respect, of course this part of our argument as far as they are concerned, loses its force, and is neutralised; but this must remain a matter of opinion, and we believe that our view, that hitherto uneducated natives\* appear to be not less unselfish, charitable, kind, chaste, or sober, not more anxious to defraud or take an unfair advantage, not more conceited or self-opinionated or unfeeling, or in any other way immoral in their private lives than those who have been educated, will meet with general confirmation from all unbiassed and candid persons.

The next argument is surely worthy of attention, and deserves confutation if it be erroneous. In the history of the world we have before us a succession of nations undergoing a gradual transition from a rude and uneducated state, to one of comparative civilisation and education. Here is an opportunity for showing that, invariably or at any rate generally, the more educated age was also the more moral in the life of any nation; we can

\* It may be seen that we believe the same to be true of other countries also, especially if we take education in the sense it bears in India, *viz.*, the impartion of secular knowledge. But we confine the statement in the text to natives of India, because our present head or argument is, that taking the case of India as a test, our efforts have actually produced no clear and marked opinion in the improvement of morality.



contemplate the question with the calm eye of an historian, we are not likely to be surveyed by the optimism which always deludes some persons into over-estimating the advantages of the present,

*ἡμεῖς τῶν πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείλωνες εὐχόμεθ' ὄναι*

nor are we under the influence of the pessimism of others who, distorting the faults of their own age and blind to those of their ancestors, always imagine that the human race is hastening to its decline.

*'Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit  
Nos nequiores, mox daturos  
Progeniem vitiosiore.'*

Under this head we see no reason to abandon our ground, that so far from any argument being available from this source to prove the benefit of education on morality, the weight of these examples is thrown, if anywhere, into the opposite scale. To revert to our previous illustrations; it can hardly be denied that Athens reached the climax of its state of education in the time of Aristophanes, and that morals in his day appear to have been very far from improving. The Augustan age, viewed in its intellectual aspect, was surely the most brilliant epoch in the history of Rome, yet that is the very time to which the words of Horace, above quoted, are applied; and they are generally allowed to be not *wholly* ascribable to that obliquity of vision which might have led to their utterance in every age. Wherever we turn the same result awaits us. In England, if we select any monarchs as more particularly surrounded by brilliant and intellectual circles, or whose reigns were more abounding in distinguished persons of every kind, they would be Elizabeth, Charles II., and the regent son of George III.; yet history is unanimous in condemning all these, the two last especially, and stigmatises their lives as periods when vice was most unbridled and morals most lax; and particularly among those very persons who displayed such intellectual pre-eminence.

So unfavourable indeed does this test appear to be, that we admit that it might be made use of as an argument that the effects of education are absolutely pernicious. We distinctly repudiate this conclusion, which can be easily evaded. Education is one only of the component parts of civilisation, and also naturally accompanies or is accompanied by an increase of wealth; for wealth by affording an increased demand for educated labour, fosters education, and education by teaching society its true interests, increases wealth, so that they naturally act and re-act on each other. Of these three it is

probable that wealth, and in some respects civilisation too, may be directly responsible for some vice and immorality, and, by leading to effeminacy and degeneracy, may be indirectly responsible for much more. Still our position remains unassailed that no assistance from these heads can be derived by education moralists.

Thus far all is plain and straight-forward, the difficulty only commences when the safe and easy ground of facts and experience is abandoned for the treacherous and fallacious field of analysis. It never was our intention in any way to attempt to prove that education *could not* be conducive to morality; we only touched lightly on one or two of the leading points which suggested themselves, and endeavoured to show that thus far they pointed to little or no necessary connection. We are however fully prepared to admit that this part of our argument was incomplete and tentative; it would in fact be next to impossible to exhaust such a subject.

In the first place it is necessary to remember what the meaning is which we were attaching to the word 'education,' for it might be capable of very opposite definitions. As our title showed, we were speaking solely of that purely intellectual training and communication of secular knowledge which is all that our present scheme in India provides or perhaps could provide for. Domestic and religious training, the inculcation of good principles by parents, all instruction, which can be equally given to a child who cannot read and write, as to one who is being taught half-a-dozen languages or the mysteries of Algebraic Geometry, we of course exclude, and readily admit to have the greatest effect on the improvement of morality. Having thus limited our meaning, let us suppose the case of two men, the one a linguist, a scholar, and a man of science, the other entirely uneducated, both tempted to be uncharitable or conceited, or to be selfish or unchaste; does it appear, *primâ facie* at least, that the languages or sciences of the one will give him any greater strength to resist the temptation, than will be available to the second? We do not state this as an easy or simple question, to answer it *properly* might involve a long and learned psychological dissertation, nor do we deny that in some cases there might be *some* effect; all that we contend is that there is nothing in the nature of the case against us, and that, except in the instance of an enlightened self-interest, the effects, when they are traceable, are, to say the least, as much pernicious as beneficial. For instance, we are ready to admit that educated men are more likely to acquire intellectual tastes, and intellectual tastes, though they have their



own peculiar dangers, do undoubtedly shield a man from more than they expose him to. On the other hand we still maintain that education, particularly a purely secular education, has a tendency to undermine religion, and few religions, viewed in their moral effects at least, are not better than no religion at all. We also see no reason to depart from our previous statement that there are many sentiments and prejudices which, though wholesome, cannot withstand the solvent power of the intellect, and therefore also suffer from the spread of education.

It would be easy, too, to maintain several particular faults with respect to which education operates either prejudicially or beneficially, as, for instance, an educated man is less likely to have recourse to force or violence, but more to fraud and artifice to accomplish his ends; but these would all be isolated cases, and would point to no broad and definite rule, nor would they in any way affect the ultimate causes or foundations of moral actions, with respect to which self-interest appears to be the only one where any clear and tangible benefit can be traced to education. Even on this head the *Friend of India*, (who is welcome to his suicidal argument) justly remarks that self-interest leads to immoral as well as moral actions. This is true, and it was this very consideration which led to our drawing a distinction between private and public morality.\* In a man's relations to society at large, it can hardly be denied that upright and moral conduct almost always subserves self-interest, and that he can see this the more clearly, as he is the more instructed to discern his interest correctly. In private life, on the contrary, it would be easy to show many vices which are in no way injurious to a man's worldly interests, especially when committed in the concealed and hidden manner in which they generally are. How much immorality is comprised in the one vice 'selfishness'? and yet selfishness, even of the grossest description, is rather conducive than otherwise to self-interest, and so far is this from forming an offence against *public* morals, that an enlightened selfishness is selected, and rightly too, by modern economists and statesmen, as the best root and basis of all good

\* The distinction between private and public morality is perhaps rather indefinite. We intended to convey by the latter the reciprocal duties of individuals, and the public or society towards each other, by the former their duties towards other individuals or towards themselves and their maker. The distinction is somewhat akin to public wrongs, or those which it is considered proper to punish criminally, and private wrongs, or those for which only a civil, or in some cases no legal remedy is provided. Of course it would be difficult to draw the line between the two with any precision, but the general distinction is clear enough for all the purposes of this article.

government. It may be thought that in selecting self-interest as the medium through which education works improvement, we are adopting a very low and unworthy line of defence for its extension. It may appear a great humiliation to substitute a practical and to a certain extent sordid motive of this kind, for the grand and lofty aims of those who dreamt of nothing less than the total regeneration of society. It would seem that even apart from the hope of enlightening its subjects on the question of their true interests, their education would still be the duty of Government, as we argue below, but even accepting this ground, we would submit that it is by no means of such secondary or trivial importance.

It is impossible to refuse some limitation to the duties of a Government; however desirable it may be that it should legislate for the universal good of its subjects, social and religious, private and public, temporal and eternal, personal and corporate, domestic and foreign, it is practically necessary that it should confine its operations as much as possible to certain definite and recognised channels. As the science of Government improves, it becomes more evident that its interference should be more and more limited, it is found expedient even to draw distinctions between the duties of Imperial Government and Local or Provincial Governments and Municipal Governments. In the promiscuous conflict of opinions, theories, and religions, the ruling power ought to abstain from taking any part which is not strictly required for the interests and happiness of the whole. While the machinery of former days, feudal ties, personal loyalty, divine and hereditary rights, state religions and uniformities, and distinctions of classes and castes, are one by one disappearing or proving antiquated and ineffectual, it becomes more and more necessary that Governments should avail themselves of the only weapon which appears capable of being employed in their stead, an enlightened self-interest.

We have the most intense aversion to utilitarianism, we are fully alive to the grave shortcomings and hideous defects of the substitute we have mentioned, yet it would be foolish to deny that a sound understanding of class interests, and personal interests on the part of its subjects, is one of the most powerful aids, that can be devised to a good and beneficent Government, and that it seems likely that selfishness may, at last, give that support to law and order, which its ancient mainstays fail any longer to afford. We cannot do better than quote the words of one not usually reckoned among the most blind and superficial thinkers of the age, who also supports most fully those very views of ours on the moral tendencies of the age,



which have been so vehemently assailed. 'I do not assert that it is easy to teach men to exercise political rights, but I maintain that when it is possible, the effects which result from it are highly important, and I add that if there ever was a time when the attempt should be made, that time is our own. It is clear that the *influence of religious belief is shaken*, and that the notion of divine rights is declining; it is evident that *public\* morality is vitiated*, and the notion of *moral rights is also disappearing*, there are general symptoms of the substitution of *argument for faith*, and of *calculation for the impulses of sentiment*. If in the midst of this general disruption you do not succeed in connecting the notion of *rights* with that of *personal interest*, which is the only immutable point in the human heart, what means will you have of governing the world except through fear'?†

It may be observed that the question of education in Bengal as regards its effects on morality is in reality two-fold. 1st, Whether a purely secular education, in other words a simple accession of knowledge '*ceteris paribus*,' increases morality. This is the general question. 2ndly, Whether an *English* secular education will be productive of improved morality in *India*. We touched on both of these in our articles, but it seems that it is our view of the first only which has been so severely animadverted on; the second or special head in which we held, that while *some* benefit might arise, it would be so weakened by the different habits, modes of thought, religious and race antipathies of the teachers and the taught, as to be almost unappreciable, appears to have been passed over without serious question; in fact it must be palpable to any one that has observed how the specialities of one nation are always distorted, mutilated, and unappreciated at the hands of another. We have no occasion therefore to add anything to our previous remarks on this head.

It may have appeared strange to some that a view so eminently Christian and scriptural as ours, that secular learning was not one of the necessary or principal aids to morality, should have been attacked in a journal which generally professes such strictly Christian principles, as the *Friend of India*. We do not in

\* On this point it would appear that the above extract goes even further than we do, as we allowed an improvement in public morality. But it can hardly be doubted that the words in the text do not intend that restricted sense of public morality in which we used the words, namely, as opposed to private morality. It is more probable that they mean the morality of the public, *i. e.* general morality, as De Tocqueville was specially aiming at proving that the Americans show a great and surprising aptitude for the performance of public duties and self-government.

† De Tocqueville's *America*, vol. 1, page 287. (Reeve's Translation.)

any way desire to justify ourselves from this source; we are quite content to rest our case on experience and argument, but it must be clear to any one that learning, or pure secular knowledge, is never represented in the Bible as one of the primary or necessary means of leading a virtuous life on the contrary; of the chief requisites of charity, humility, temperance, chastity, and faith or a childlike disposition, learning does not appear directly or prominently conducive to any one, while if not incompatible, it does seem to be at least unfavourable to the second and last; and were knowledge even one of the leading elements of virtue, it is hard to see how a childlike nature would be so pre-eminently extolled. In spite of this it cannot be questioned that during the last century, and more especially the last three decades, the civilized portion of the world has been passing through an epoch of education mania, and it has been the doctrine of a large and influential party, that education was to be the panacea for almost all the ills and vices that have been entailed on the human race. The doctrine has, it is true, been for the most part held by the free-thinking or latitudinarian and sceptical\* parties, but has also been imbibed in a great degree by those of a very different class. Under these auspices it has spread far and wide, bearing fruit not only in multiplied schools and colleges and mechanic's institutes and learned societies, but also inundating the market with class books and text books and examinations and examining bodies, till one is almost prepared for a proposal, to unite all the nations of the world into one federation under a president exercising his authority by the divine right of competitive examination. Even India knows how she was selected as the happy country whose government was to be regenerated, abuses uprooted, poor made rich, and rich made good, by the new class of rulers which the invigorating breezes of competition were to waft to her shores. *Ex uno disce omnia*; competition is probably a real good; and capable of being turned to still greater use, were its evils more wisely guarded against. It can check the frailties of patrons, and furnish a body of men of at least average abilities, and perhaps more than average diligence and steadiness, but when we compare the sober and moderate results, with the splendid and magnificent anticipations of its earliest advocates, must it not be admitted that those anticipations were unfounded and fallacious, and ought we not to be prepared for a similar conclusion, as

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\* We use the word in a philosophical sense and without any intention of attaching any odium to it.



regards the equally exaggerated expectations formed on so cognate a subject as education?

In England, in fact, many persons appear to have already discovered that their brilliant hopes require to be sobered and modified. The leaders of the principal religious parties at least, are generally agreed to this extent, while many go further and strongly condemn a purely secular education, such as we are giving in India, as a positive evil. To this we demur, but we nevertheless were of opinion that even in India these were few who were not prepared to accept the more modified, though not the more sweeping conclusion. But it seems that we were mistaken, and the reason why the religious party should have set such store on a purely secular education and should be reluctant to strike their colours, may perhaps be susceptible of explanation. The missionaries came out to this country full of hope and confidence, believing that the success they deserved must speedily attend their exertions; they found however that their direct efforts were lamentably unproductive; on the other hand they found the natives of this part of India willing and even eager to avail themselves of their secular instruction, and saw truly enough that this must in time be the means of weaning them from their old faith. Only assume that this was the road to a new faith, and all that they desired, all that they so ardently but unavailingly looked for as their due, was at length in their grasp. Here was their work progressing fast, the natives were rapidly acquiring secular learning, this was as rapidly dissipating their old religious belief, and then doubtless (?) the new religion would as rapidly take its place. Was it wonderful that they assigned so lofty a place to education, or that they formed an unnatural alliance, with free-thinkers and sceptics, who despising the old beaten paths of faith and humility and reveling in the pride of intellect of their nineteenth centuryism, looked to knowledge alone as the sun of glory, which was at length to dispel the mists and fogs of human corruption!

It is true that this was very different from the methods employed by a Paul, an Augustine, or a Xavier; such men may have thought that the unknown God of one religion formed the best stepping stone to the known Deity of another, they may have considered an interregnum of infidelity as anything but desirable, far less as necessary for their work. The belief in a state of probation, an unseen world, and a future state of rewards and punishments, and other features common to almost all religions, (so much so indeed as to have led many to think that all erroneous creeds are but corruptions of an original deposit of faith revealed to the first parents of the human race) may have

appeared too valuable to be sacrificed to a state of infidelity from which they might never be recovered. A new method was now to be employed, and the missionary cue (if we may use the word without disrespect,) was and still is that the expulsion of Hinduism formed a fitting if not indispensable preparation for Christianity. Such being their expectation they have now to undergo the mortification of disappointment; lustres pass by, and still the results are admittedly incommensurate with the enormous expenditure and personal sacrifices made to attain them. Is it wonderful that there should be a little soreness against those who defend education for its true and solid and tangible benefits, and abandon those which should never have been expected from it? At the same time it should never be forgotten that while the missionaries have not succeeded in their direct object, they have indirectly proved great and real benefactors to the Government and the country, and are entitled to the gratitude of both for the impulse they have given to education.

It is however objected that according to this view there would be little or no cause for this gratitude; at least our view is considered objectionable to all who 'still believe that the spread of 'knowledge must be to the advantage of mankind.' Such a conclusion could only follow on the assumption that the improvement of morality is the only object in the world which deserves to be spoken of as being to the advantage of mankind. We frankly admit that our argument is against the position that a larger proportion of a learned than of an unlearned nation would attain to happiness in the next world, but surely there was nothing in our article to prevent the superiority of the former over the latter being incalculable as far as this world is concerned. When men sacrifice health and strength, life and fortune, when they elaborate arts and sciences, and toil six if not seven days in the week on objects which do not pretend to benefit mankind in more than their worldly interests, it must be hypercritical to find fault with an opinion which looks for a gain of a similar character only in the case of education. We have already contended that the enlightenment of its subjects is a matter of such primary importance to a Government in the present age, that this alone would constitute an ample justification for any reasonable amount of exertion and expenditure on their education; but we are prepared to go further and to maintain that, besides being highly expedient, it is also an absolute duty, the neglect of which can only be excused by the gravest political necessity.

The absence of education as effectually cripples the mind, as paralysis does the body, and it is clearly the duty of those who



have the case of others whether parents of their children, or rulers of their subjects, to place them as far as possible in the full possession of all the faculties, with which they are endowed by their Creator. An uneducated man feels his inferiority as much or even more in the upper walks of life than one who is deprived of the use of a hand or foot, and it would be hard to show that blind persons are as a rule less moral than those who have the use of their eyes, yet we never heard the work of an oculist disparaged, as not being for the advantage of mankind, because he could point to no improvement of morality, as resulting from his operations. It appears then fair and reasonable to conclude that an uneducated people will not be necessarily less moral than one that is educated, but that those who are responsible for having kept them in ignorance, are as guilty as those who fail to avert the blindness or bodily defects of persons committed to their charge.

In effect our opponents say to the people of India, 'Come, you poor demoralized and vitiated beings, to your kind physicians, we have the medicines which will combat and expel the diseases which you are unable to overcome; take a dose of geography, it will correct the acidity of your tempers; let us prepare you a bolus of chronology, it will check your tendency to fraud; you are too lethargic and require the stimulants of surds and the multiplication table; you should drench your minds with mathematics, they will keep out the pestilential perjuries of the country. You are sadly steeped in error, but we have a preparation of Hume and Gibbon which will instil into you the truths of Christianity.' We say 'Fate or rather Providence has placed us in possession of your country; an ignorant people is of all others the most thankless and difficult to govern; and we wish to win or at least to merit your affection, we therefore educate you in order that you may appreciate our rule when it is good; and when it is not so, we are desirous to have our faults pointed out; moreover we have inherited the heir-looms of Greek and Roman learning, we have acquired a useful science from the Arabians, and our inventive genius and spirit of enterprise have laid open to us advantages and truths unknown to you, but so convincing, that they only need to be expounded in order to be accepted; these it is our duty to share with you in order that we may endeavour to elevate your minds to our own level.'

If the latter aim is less ambitious, less lofty than the former, it is at any rate more sober and practical, and need not shrink from the tests of time and experience.

Objection was taken to our statement that education has a

tendency to weaken all religious faith; we meant, as was clear, a purely secular education, such as is being imparted in Government Schools, in India. The fact whether here or in Europe\* is so patent, that it must have required more than ordinary blindness or audacity to question it. It may be shown too that the experience of what it does effect is entirely corroborated by antecedent probability. It is inevitable that students should undervalue the importance of subjects of which they are ignorant, and magnify that of those which they have learned; an old fashioned orthodox scholar despises many useful branches of instruction as modern superficialities, while Mr. Cobden professes to believe a single number of the 'Times' to be more valuable than the whole of Thucydides. Is it conceivable that where religion is excluded or ignored, it can retain its relative importance, or be properly estimated, or even remembered, by those whose entire energies are absorbed in secular studies? We should as soon expect a committee of Oxford classical scholars to render due homage to the value of mathematics, or Mr. Bright to write a work in the Greek particles, as one who has received no religious instruction to estimate correctly the importance of theology or the need for definite doctrine.

It may perhaps be said 'ought an education open to this charge to be supported?' The only reply can be that faulty as it undoubtedly is in this respect, it is nevertheless the best and fairest, in fact the only fair one under the circumstances, which can be given. Were its subjects so unanimous in religion that they might practically and without injustice be regarded as forming a single religious corporation, it would indeed be an unpardonable blot for a Government to omit religion from the course of education; but when such unanimity is not attainable (and for the future where in the world will it be so?) when wise and learned theologians differ, when the subjects are divided into sects and creeds, it would surely be a monstrous injustice that a man of comparatively little theological erudition, such as a statesman must generally be, should constitute himself the supreme arbiter of their differences, and by his decision tax the property of the one to aid in furthering the progress of the other. Would it be just that we should abuse our power by taking the money of six score of million Hindoos and a score of million Mohamedans in order to propagate

\* If education in Europe is not so exclusively secular as in India, it has at any rate the same tendency. That is to say a great extension of secular education has taken place, and every stimulus to it is held out, while the religious element is stationary or rather retrograde, and there is a growing inclination to question the importance of theology.



among them a religion which they do not believe. Even were we to do so, we still could not settle fairly which of the forms of Christianity we would adopt, and any comprehension would lose far more in consistency and unity than it would gain in numbers. All that can be done is to reduce the evil to a minimum by encouraging each persuasion to provide educational facilities for those of their own belief, the system adopted (unless we are mistaken) in France and many countries, and now introduced into India by the grant-in-aid rules, which when administered with real equity and impartiality, are the fairest that can be desired.

As we admitted in our article, there are many other defects in the character of the education given in Bengal; it was alien to our purpose to discuss them, but we will touch briefly on one which appears to be rather an error in principle than in detail. The Indian scheme appears too partial, if not actually wedded, to what we may call the modern educational heresy which values instruction rather for the quantity of matter it pours into the mind, than for the manner in which it prepares the mind to receive and use this matter. It used to be held, that the true test of education was, whether or not it taught the pupil to reason and think correctly on any subject matter which might be placed before him, and if in so doing any useful knowledge could be conveniently imparted, so much the better, provided this end was duly subordinated to that which was considered to be the primary object; the acquisition of knowledge belonged rather to a subsequent period, when the direct work of education had been completed. It is this change of objects, or to speak more correctly, change in their order of importance, which is responsible for the vastly increased number of subjects, which a liberal education is expected to comprehend. If the quantity of knowledge is the desideratum, it is easy to see that a smattering of many subjects is more useful and far more showy than a full or profound knowledge of a few. Moreover as useful knowledge is being rapidly expanded, there is more and more necessity to enlarge the field of education, leading to more and more superficiality. For the capacity of the mind is like a volume of water to be contained in an erect cylinder of a required depth; if the radius of the cylinder be too small, the water overflows and a portion of it is wasted and lost, if the radius be of the proper length, the whole of the water is contained, and the greatest depth at the same time preserved, but if it be further enlarged every increase in surface must be made at the expense of a corresponding decrease in depth. So it is with education, if the number of subjects be too

limited, the mind has not full play, but a portion of its energy and power is wasted, but if on the other hand the number of subjects is excessive, it is impossible to preserve the required depth.

In conclusion we only hope that those who differ from us will take in hand the real task which is before them, and show some satisfactory reason for the opinion that knowledge is closely connected with the improvement of morality. A certain amount of knowledge, or rather of capacity for thought which creates a kind of knowledge, and certain intuitive ideas appear to be implanted in all, (even those who deny that there are any intuitive ideas, concede that such ideas are acquired by the simple exercise of the senses and without any extraneous assistance.) Mankind then are born with a faculty which enables them at a certain time of life to *know* or discriminate between good and evil. Increase their knowledge and we grant that their capacity for both is also increased, or in other words that increased knowledge is increased *power*, but we deny that the good increases more than the evil, or that the relative proportions of the two are altered. Let those who say that they are, prove their affirmation.

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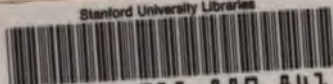
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